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THE APOSTOLIC SEE

Our knowledge of the century that includes the death of St. John the Apostle and the first establishment of the Christian religion throughout the broad Empire of Rome is imperfect, not to say obscure. But two lines of Christian thought and action stand out clearly and are admitted by all, however various and contradictory the interpretations of the facts and documents. The infant Church, apart from her memorable struggle with the civil power of Rome for the right to exist, was all along engaged in a no less momentous domestic conflict, first with the converts from Judaism and second with the converts from Greek and Roman Paganism. Too many of the former looked on the new movement as no more than a fresh awakening of the Old Testament life and polity, the anxiously-awaited dawn of fulfillment of those promises that had so long fed the courage of Israel, a glorious proselytism for the Temple and its institutions destined in this way to rise again from the ruin and humiliation that had fallen on Jerusalem. Too many of the latter saw in the new Christian teaching and organization a kind of academic mixing-bowl into which might be cast the Gospel of Christ, the idealism of Plato, the erudition and logic of Aristotle, and the multitudinous vagaries of the Graeco-Roman Orient, in other words the system known as Gnosticism or the highest spiritual knowledge. The first post-apostolic century of the Church is largely nothing more than a life and death conflict with these two movements, as deeply antagonistic to the nature and calling of the true Church as they were to one another. They were after all

not new movements, but activities of a much earlier time, newly-quickened by the rapid advance of the religion of Jesus Christ, or rather sharply challenged by the latter, which daily swelled the ranks of its adherents at the expense of the old Israel, of Greek philosophy and of a hundred forms of Oriental worship and speculation, from the Nile and the Orontes to the Indus and the Ganges. No doubt there was reasoning a-plenty against the narrowness and selfishness of the Judaizers and the misty hallucinations of the Gnostics, but the records of Christian antiquity are there to show that the victory was won for the Christian multitude by a vigorous appeal to the criterion of *Apostolicity*, i. e., to identity of Christian belief with that of the apostolic age. St. Justin, himself a native of Palestine, might dispute learnedly with the Rabbis of Ephesus, and even after him we hear echoes of second and third century disputes between the synagogues and the churches.

But when it was all well over, by the middle of the second century, the figure and the teaching best remembered were those of Hegesippus, himself a Jew and the first historian of the Catholic Church. He had travelled widely through the Roman world in search of a working criterion of the religious truth taught by the Christian Society, and found it in the universal identity of doctrine with that of the apostles. Some precious fragments of his description of the sub-apostolic period have reached us, and from them we see that while on the one hand he enumerates all existing half-Jewish, half-Christian sects and gives the names of their founders, on the other he praises the universal agreement of the Christian Churches throughout the Roman Empire, based on the regular succession of their bishops from the apostles. Toward the end of his life he spent a long time at Rome, and drew up from the archives of the Roman Church the first known list of the successors of St. Peter, some of whose names have reached us (Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherus), though the rest of the document has long been lost, perhaps not hopelessly. Quite certainly he looked on the succession of Roman bishops as a guarantee that the apostolic doctrine had been preserved at Rome in its original purity, and that no concept of the Old Testament or of the rôle of Israel could pass for Christian which was there condemned. It is indeed unique and per-

suasive when we meet this conclusion in the extant fragments of the earliest history of the sub-apostolic period, in the mouth of a man who, St. Jerome tells us, followed closely on the Apostles own time and whose life covers the period from about 120 (death of St. John the Apostle) to about 180 when the Christian religion had fairly won its first hard battle for existence. His sole aim in life was to assure himself that he was believing all that the Lord Jesus had taught. He travelled far and wide for that sole purpose, and believed firmly that the true criterion of Christian faith was in the unbroken succession of the properly appointed successors of the Apostles (i. e., the bishops). He had himself collected many principal facts and documents concerning the apostolic times, and dying left in his account of those times, and as a principal document, not the succession of bishops of Jerusalem or Antioch or Alexandria, but the full catalogue of the bishops of Rome, as though satisfied that he had reached the living centre of Christian truth where the new heresies, especially the Judaizing falsehoods, would certainly be cast out, as indeed they were. The mass of Israel, however, was yet no less carnal than in the time of its Redeemer and the millions of its children, both in and out of the empire, long continued to dream, and even to plan, a restoration of Sion to political greatness and even supremacy. Our good Hegesippus, as simple in heart as he was in style, belonged to the race of Nicodemus, and they were ever few in Israel. Nevertheless, in the remote beginnings of the Christian religion he is an important witness to an early and general consensus of all Christians that in the succession of Peter and Paul was to be found always genuine Christian truth, and that all teaching which differed from theirs was the particularistic teaching of sects and heresies, and offered no guarantee of living contact with the teaching and the will of the Divine Founder.

But while Israel long and fiercely opposed the divorce of Christianity from its own too secular concept of the Old Testament religious life and organization, the new religion was in even greater danger from the miscellaneous multitude that thronged to it from the temple-spaces and the lecture-halls of the philosophers. The rapid and compulsory unification of the mighty Mediterranean state known as the Roman Empire was

not accompanied by any similarly thorough transformation of the minds and hearts of its hundred million subjects. The wide tossing sea itself was not more restless and changing than the multitude of any Greek or Roman city, especially in the refined and luxurious Orient, where freedom of thought was as untrammelled as political servility was abundant. The religions of conquered peoples, East and West, had long been affecting to its detriment the rude and rather austere pagan worship of Rome and the Latin peoples; with similar hopes they approached the new religion of Christ and sought alliance with it now in one shape and now in another, but chiefly through curious speculations about the origin of the world and man, the nature of evil, the relations of spirit and matter, the future resurrection, etc. This is what came to be known as Gnosticism or Scientific Religion.

The countless advocates of this antique "Modernism" assured the Christian authorities of their orthodoxy, the compatibility of their teachings with the Gospel, even of special secret revelations of the Apostles and first Christian converts. Its propaganda was incredibly active, widespread and seductive. The yet extant relics of its religious literature are enough to astound us when we think how little has been saved, let us say concerning the earliest popes or many of the Roman emperors. It was really responsible for the creation of what we call Christian theology, i. e., a rational and scholarly defense and illustration of the teaching of the Gospel and Holy Church.

The most vigorous opponent of this pseudo-Christianity arose at Lyons in Gaul, a Christian bishop known as Irenaeus, born toward the year 150, probably in populous Asia Minor, itself a hotbed of Gnosticism. He had spent some years at Rome as a Christian teacher, and was therefore well equipped to produce his large Greek work "Against All Heresies," in which he explains and confutes all the false forms of Christianity that were current before the end of the second century. With extensive knowledge and much acumen he pursued the hydra-headed Gnosticism of his day, and his book remains forever a curious monument to the character of the Christian Church, its constitution and its teaching, its aim and even its history, also in other ways a valuable record of the age in which he wrote.

But against the heresies of his day, in particular Gnosticism in all its shapes, the chief line of argument of this great scholarly bishop of the end of the second century, this cultured and travelled and practical administrator of the most important Western Church outside of Italy, this Asiatic Greek in the See of Lyons, is neither scriptural nor theological—it is historical, i. e., the lack of genuine apostolic character. The true sense of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, he says, is easy to learn and to use his own words "it is within the power of all in every Church, who may wish to see the truth, to contemplate clearly the tradition of the apostles manifested throughout the whole world." It is visible in the unbroken succession of bishops instituted by the apostles in the Churches founded by them.[1] But he goes on to say that the apostolic succcession is lodged principally in the succession of Roman bishops; he enumerates the twelve successors of St. Peter and St. Paul from Linus to the contemporary Eleutherus (and this is the oldest extant catalogue of the popes, also the oldest history of the popes, for he enumerates touching details of their lives); he insinuates clearly that they were especially honest, perfect and blameless men, in whose ears the preaching of the Apostles still echoed and before whose eyes their traditions were ever supreme. Above all, this particular succession of Christian bishops stands in a peculiar and preeminent way as a guarantee of apostolic truth, a touchstone of

[1] The following words of his contemporary Tertullian (*De Praeser*, c. 39) exhibit with the legal precision peculiar to him the attitude of African Christians toward the apostolic office of the Roman Church.

"Come now, thou that wilt exercise thy curiosity to better purposes in the business of thy salvation, run over the Apostolic Churches in which the very chairs of the Apostles, to this very day, preside over their own places, in which their own authentic writings are read, echoing the voice, and making the face of each present. Is Achaia near to thee? Thou hast Corinth. If thou art not far from Macedonia, thou hast Philippi, thou hast the Thessalonians. If thou canst travel into Asia, thou hast Ephesus. But if thou art near to Italy, thou hast Rome, whence we also have an authority at hand. That Church how happy! on which the Apostles poured out all their doctrine with their blood; where Peter had a like passion with the Lord; where Paul is honoured with an end like the Baptist's; where the Apostle John was plunged into boiling oil, and suffered nothing, and was afterwards banished to an island; let us see what she hath learned, what taught, what fellowship she hath with the Church of Africa likewise."

un-Christian or anti-Christian teaching, a shining light to both friend and foe. His golden words deserve to be quoted in full:

> Since, however, it would be very tedious in such a volume as this, to reckon up the successions of all the Churches, we do put to confusion all those who, in whatever manner, whether by an evil self-pleasing, by vainglory, or by blindness and perverse opinion, assemble in unauthorized meetings; (we do this, I say), by indicating that tradition derived from the apostles, of the very great, the very ancient, and universally known Church founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul; and also (by pointing out) the faith preached to men, which comes down to our time by means of the successions of the bishops. For it is a matter of necessity that every Church should agree with this Church, on account of its pre-eminent authority, that is, the faithful everywhere, inasmuch as the apostolical tradition has been preserved continuously by those (faithful men) who exist everywhere."

He then enumerates the list of Roman bishops, as one might enumerate the list of Presidents of the United States, and adds: "In this order and by this succession the ecclesiastical tradition from the Apostles and the preaching of the truth have come down to us. And this is most abundant proof that there is one and the same vivifying faith, which has been preserved in the Church from the apostles until now and handed down in truth (*Adv. Haeres*, III, 3, 3)." "It would be hard," says Monsignor Duchesne, "to find a more concise expression of the doctrinal unity then existing in the universal Church; of the sovereign and unique importance of the Roman Church as witness, guardian and organ of the apostolic tradition; and of its superior pre-eminence in the group of Christian communities.[2]

Through these three centuries the Roman Church had no rival for its perilous pre-eminency, which was so marked that the Emperor Decius, when about to undertake the extermina-

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[2] *Bulletin, Critique*, x, 430. For a good commentary on this famous passage of St. Irenaeus, and a refutation of various efforts made to blunt its point, see L. Rivington, *The Primitive Church and the See of Peter* (London, 1894), 31-38.

tion of the Christian religion, declared that he would rather behold the rise of an usurper than another bishop of Rome. The oldest Christian Churches, like Corinth and Antioch, recognized its supreme dignity. Before the end of the first century the former appealed to the Roman Church to heal a painful schism, and while the second century was yet young, Ignatius of Antioch addressed the Roman Church as the president of the Christian Society and acknowledged with gratitude the reception of its instructions and commands. During this period the bulk of the Christian body was in the Roman Orient, yet its supreme government, as far as we can now grasp it, was certainly in the See of Peter. Thither came the heads of the great heresies of Gnosticism, Marcionism, Montanism, Sabellianism, asking for recognition, and rebellious only when they failed to secure the authority and prestige of that ancient Church. In all the domestic controversies of those centuries that Church ever dominates the scene. It is not Rome that weakens during the earlier controversies, but Asia Minor; not Anicetus who visits Smyrna to confer with Polycarp, but that venerable man of 80 years who comes to Rome to deal with the pope. And later no bishop of the Orient, nor all of them, dared to order all their episcopal brethren to meet in councils and report to him as Pope Victor did; much less did they dare to excommunicate, or threaten to excommunicate, entire provinces, if they did not obey, i. e., to cut them off from the common unity in Christ, as the same pope did, and as Pope Stephen did a litttle later when the African churches clung stubbornly to their narrow views on the re-baptism of heretics. In matters of Christian faith it brought before its tribunal the highest Christian scholarship in the person of Origen, and it called for explanation and submission from high-placed and saintly bishops like Dionysius of Alexandria. while the supreme tribunal of the empire recognized at the same time that in practice the bishop of Rome was the judge of Christian life and discipline. It is to the Roman Church that critical scholars, some of them neither Catholics nor genuine Christians, trace back the most solemn and far-reaching measures and institutions that consolidated the fluent elements of the earliest Christian life,—the closing of the canon of the New Testament and the diffusion of its books; the formulation of the

Apostles' Creed or that simple and ancient rule of faith that each convert, Jew or heathen, had to learn and accept as a sufficient catechism of the new belief; the creation of a special religious code for Christians, i. e., the beginnings of the canon law, which the oldest Greek Christian texts with curious unanimity refer to a Roman origin.

I might add other grave considerations that place beyond a doubt the unique magisterial office of the Roman Church in the earliest and darkest days of the Christian religion, when its bishops everywhere were in daily peril of their lives as confessedly the sources and guarantors of the peculiar religious obstinacy that maddened at once and appalled the governors of the Roman world. I will mention but one more such illustration. Out of the remotest Christian antiquity come reliable statements that the Roman Church during these three centuries was wont to exercise a truly imperial charity toward multitudes of Christians in all parts of the Roman Empire. From Greece, Syria, Asia Minor, Arabia came pitiful cries for help amid the ceaseless local persecutions of the brethren, and it is no Latin writer, but a Greek, the great Church historian Eusebius of Caesarea, who tells us that even to his day, i. e., the first quarter of the fourth century, the Roman Church still dispensed to the ends of the empire her rich and immemorial bounties.

If I have dwelt at some length on these features of the primitive Roman supremacy among the earliest Christian Churches, it is because, considered in their entirety, they reproduce for us at that early date not only the continuous fact of the apostolic authority in its fulness, but also its original aim and its genuine spirit, i. e., the practical effective unity of the Christian ideals in belief and life, and a permanent, deep, transforming affection for the common welfare that was like a tide of new blood in the veins of a decadent age and a corrupt society. The history of the Roman Church in these three centuries is in reality an enlarged Acts of the Apostles.

Feature for feature all the traits of the primitive Church found in the inspired record are met with in the Roman Church of this period—the conviction of responsible authority visibly lodged in an organized body; a full and sure and ready sense of all the Christian faith and an equally reliable sense of religious

falsehood; an adequate appreciation of the universal interests and the common welfare; a large and moderate view of the exercise of authority; an habitual confession of a higher will, that of Jesus Christ, as the true source of the new power over men's minds and hearts. In faith, in discipline, in government, in its public services, in its continuous charitable solicitude for all the scattered brethren in Christ the Roman Church was in those centuries truly an "imago primaevi saeculi," a mirror of the apostolic age.

"Thus," says an illustrious historian, "the churches of the entire world, from Arabia, Osrhoene, Cappadocia, to the extremities of the West, experienced in everything, in faith, in discipline, in government, in ritual, in works of charity, the incessant activity of the Roman Church. It was everywhere known, as St. Irenaeus says, everywhere present, everywhere respected, everywhere followed in its advice. Against it there rises no opposition, no rivalry. No community entertains the notion of putting itself on the same footing as Rome. Later, patriarchates and other local primacies will come into being. In the course of a third century, one barely sees their first outlines, more or less vague, in process of formation. Above these organisms just forming, as well as above the ensemble of the isolated churches, there looms up the Roman Church in its sovereign majesty, the Roman Church represented by its bishops, the long series of whom is connected with the two coryphaei of the apostolic chorus; the Church which knows itself and declares itself and is considered by the whole world to be the organ and center of unity."[3]

During all this time, moreover, its bishops were held in peculiar veneration by all Christians. Many of them shed their blood for Christ, and each of them was looked on in his own time as St. Peter himself in all the fulness of his public character. The individual pope might come from any part of the vast Empire of Rome, but his family and personality were ever of little account. Each one stood for the highest and most attractive religious idea and the most efficient religious organization that the world had yet beheld. And though he usually perished

[3] L. Duchesne, *Bulletin, Critique,* (1904), x, 448.

violently (for Cæsar was yet unwilling to sacrifice his own religious authority), it was not felt that his disappearance imperilled the precious interests committed to him as to a spiritual dictator in face of the ignorance, apathy, stupidity, malice, selfishness, and habitual vacillation of too many minds and hearts in all that pertained to the life of the spirit. Men spoke of them interchangeably as the *See* of Peter, the *Chair* of Peter, the *Place* of Peter. The authority of the great apostle, granted him as a reward of his faith, and for the preservation of the unity and efficiency of the Christian organization both in its primitive growth and amid the dramatic vicissitudes of later persecution and conflict, seemed even then solidly anchored, as it were, to a mighty rock; was identical and equal in each successor, identical and equal being the divine gift itself and the necessity for it, the good accomplished, the evils averted. What wonder, then that long before the Roman Church emerged from the catacombs, its bishops were wont to claim, and at Rome itself, an hereditary fulness of apostolic authority, and to quote for their flock as early as the time of St. Cyprian's death that divine charter of the papacy, the memorable words of St. Matthew (XVI, 118-19):

> And I say to thee: That thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth it shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth it shall be loosed also in heaven.

O fateful words! The pilgrim to the Fisherman's Tomb at Rome and the idle visitor lift up their eyes to-day and behold them written in gigantic letters about the base of the dome of St. Peter's heralding forever and consecrating, as it were with befitting majesty, the incomparable genius that built for them this pedestal thrice glorious among the works of human imagination and skill. But far more glorious is the historical career of these words of power from the day when they were first uttered in remote Palestine to our own time. Nothing but their sacramental efficiency can explain the influence they have exercised in every century, in every form of civilization, amid all

kinds and manners of men. They have sundered the spiritual from the temporal order, at an awful price, it is true, nevertheless by no means excessive; they have shaped the exercise of this dearly bought spiritual independence and conditioned the framework of ecclesiastical authority, whose dignity and serviceableness they have saved, while they prevented it from degenerating into anarchy or becoming hopelessly the tool of secular passion or purpose; they were ever and are yet the sufficient instruction of the successors of St. Peter, replete with freedom of action, but also replete with terrible admonition for men who believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ, His tender affection for Holy Church, and His inevitable just judgment of those who sit in the place of Peter, but do not the works of Peter; they have affected the growth of great sciences, doctrinal theology, canon law, moral theology, Church history, even of philosophy; they have fashioned effectively the civil and social order, for there was a long and troubled period when the average Christian mankind of Europe looked to the papacy as a paternal power, and saw in each succeeding pope a moral patriarchal authority, the only one capable of dominating an arbitrary feudalism, of compelling for the poor, weak, and helpless, some measure of justice, of enforcing basic principles of the law of nations, and of planting deeply in the heart of Europe those principles and ideals through which the Western world put off its ancient paganism and even yet stands out as fundamentally different from and superior to the non-Christian Orient; they were and are the divine source of the combined insight and courage which have regularly distinguished the successors of St. Peter, even when European society had reached the lowest ebb of its fortunes, and was everywhere dominated by a narrow and selfish secularism that abused holy institutions for vile ends. Through these divine and imperishable words the successor of St. Peter is forever lifted above the ordinary course of human passions and purposes, forever exhibited to mankind as the symbol of Christian unity, the criterion of Gospel truth and life, the witness and custodian of Christ's teachings, the judge of the brethren in all charity and equity, and therefore the natural guide and adviser of Christian society in all that pertains to religious faith and morality.

An essential feature of the original apostolic office was its

witness unto Christ, not unto a portion of his life, but unto all His public career. On the morrow of the Ascension, when yet the Christian Church numbered about a hundred souls the Apostles met under the presidency of Peter (Acts I, 14-26) to select a successor to the traitor Apostle Judas. It may be truly called the first General Council, presided over by the first pope. "Wherefore," said the Prince of the Apostles, "of these men who have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus came in and went out among us.....one of these must be made witness with us of His resurrection....to take the place of this ministry and apostleship from which Judas hath by his transgression fallen." It is precisely this feaure of the apostolic office that stands out most strikingly in the Roman Church during the thousand years of medieval life. The other apostolic churches, like Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, gradually decayed, or were involved in wretched heresies, or became the prey of Islam. The brilliant civilization of the apostolic age was soon obscured in the Mediterranean world. The original monuments and documents, both of Church and State, disappeared or became unintelligible. Passionate new controversies killed off the interest in primitive Christianity, and a new order supervened everywhere, rather a total lack of order in those rude ages when the political, social, and economic life of the Graeco-Roman world was everywhere overlaid with crude barbarism freshly renewed in every century by the eager sensual hordes that poured without ceasing from the mighty womb of the North and the East. At Rome itself a consul, that immemorial symbol of the Roman State, was no longer named; the majestic Senate-house on whose floor were debated the fates of kingdoms and provinces was closed and dumb; the vast population shrank to a handful; the prestige and power of the City men proudly called Eternal had passed away, or rather were disputed by jealous Greeks, fanatic Arabs, and proud and turbulent Germans. A little more and the prophetic fear of Scipio Africanus had become a reality; Rome, like Troy and Carthage would have passed into the realm of shadows. It was a crucial time, whose true significance can be read in Cardinal Newman's *Historical Sketches* and in the noble volumes of Mr. Allies.

But graver than the decay of the glorious city itself was the

peril that threatened Christian unity when for a while it seemed that for the future not the Roman by the Tiber but the Byzantine Greek by the Golden Horn would henceforth represent or dominate the apostolic witness to Jesus Christ; that the ever-latent secularism of the imperial office would strangle the hard-bought spiritual independence, and soon Rome would be as Constantinople, and later as Moscow, the seat of more or less venerable arch-chaplains of an Oriental ruler, local custodians of dead magnificence, Grand Lamas of the West.

But for the welfare of Holy Church and of humanity this early crystallization of the spiritual forces of the Gospel was not to happen in the West, on the border line of the ancient world and the new states of Europe, whose last most hopeful progeny even we of the New World now are. In the names and the memory of the glorious Apostles Peter and Paul the popes found always something sacramentally vigorous and restorative, a lasting echo as it were, an undying image of the "praedicatio veritatis," the fulness of Christian truth as it had been made known by the great Apostles and ever preserved in the Church founded by them and consecrated by their labours and their blood. The apostolic office and apostolic faith soon created their own monuments unique and wonderful, eternally voiceful of the purpose that underlay them. There stood, visible to all, the glorious sepulchres of Peter and of Paul. There rose the old basilica of St. Peter, for a thousand years the most venerable monument of the world, hallowed by a thousand great events, itself the silent witness of the permanency of the apostolic office, crowded with memories and proofs of the tender gratitude to Christian Rome both of the ancient world that lay dying and of the new peoples rudely surging in to take its place, one day to bear its complex burden. In the old St. Paul's stood during all this period the evergrowing series of medallions that exhibited in imperial mosaic the list of the successors of the Fisherman, while throughout and around the City were scattered venerable relics and evidences of their sojourn, their apostolic activity, and the deep respect that the Roman Christians showed their fathers in the faith while yet a Hadrian pondered over the Gospel or in his immortal memoirs a Marcus Aurelius with imperial melancholy fixed its essence as an incorrigible resistance to the omnipotence

of the Roman State. To-day the genius of Catholic investigators and the pick of the new fossors reveal not a few incredibly convincing proofs of this, as both scholar and excavator work their way through such early Christian cemeteries as those of Domitilla, Priscilla, and Sebastian, where once were buried members of Cæesar's household and foremost consular nobles, whose names yet grace the pages of Tacitus and Suetonius, but who had then caught the Gospel from the lips of Peter and Paul.

From all parts of the world, despite the wretched anarchy of the times, long armies of pilgrims never ceased to visit the sepulchres of Peter and Paul and to acquire within their shadow both the letter and the spirit of the Gospel. This pilgrimage to Rome was the most unifying institution of a period when the entire West had scarcely a city worthy of the name and function. It is to-day as important as ever in the regular visit of every Catholic bishop to the source of apostolic authority, but its origin is lost in the dim beginnings of the papal succession, while at the same time it is one of the most irrefragable evidences that Christian Europe at least always saw in the succession of Peter the only divine guarantee that it was receiving an uncontaminated gospel, and not the conclusions of Arius and Nestorius, or the secular makeshifts of court-bishops and ignorant soldiers.

And in as far as the successor of Peter could not behold the entire Christian world, his letters, issued always by the authority of Peter and Paul, went far and wide every day of this thousand years, and brought home, for example, to the most lonely priest of the Orkneys or the Faroes, a sense of union and communion with the entire Christian world, and a conviction that the Christian religion held its way continuously, that Christ was not preached in vain nor was faith in Him a vain thing both for priest and people. The countless missionaries who in those ages went forth to dispel for Christ the surrounding moral darkness held their work but weakly done, if it was not begun with the approval of the Apostolic See, like that of Saint Patrick, or if it was not soon placed under the saving direction of the same like that of Saint Boniface. Well indeed for all those strong but uncultivated races that they were so soon in touch with the Eternal City, for thereby they not only secured easily and permanently religious unity with the rest of Europe, but they also ob-

tained the first elements of civilization. May they always be thus divided for the benefit of Rome, says the pagan Tacitus, describing the internecine quarrels of the Britons under the stern generalship of Agricola, that perfect apostle of the old order. Nay, rather lay aside your wasteful warfare and be united in Christ Jesus, and learn the arts of a higher and a better life, said the missionary to the Angles and Saxons, those rude men of Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland who soon drove out the Britons from their pleasant home. And they were united, and with the Christian faith that they received from Pope Gregory, whom they ever revered as their special apostle in Christ Jesus, they soon also entered on a higher culture, learned of an alphabet and of the preservation of the most useful thought, of written law and fixed judicial procedure, of a better warfare by rational argument, of the refinement of the spirit as more desirable than the gross pleasures of violent passions. And as the missionary worked in union with the See of Peter his efforts were never in vain, for he was only the far-flung pioneer in the great system of Christianity that centered at Rome, and knew that when he fell another would come to take his place. The obligation of the metropolitans to obtain the pallium from Rome came soon to remind the new churches that they were offshoots of a great trunk, and that only by close contact with the parent stem could they be protected at once against themselves and against the forces of secularism that too often they did not recognize, and when they did were too weak to resist it or cast off its yoke. They owed it to the Apostolic See that they kept for a thousand years that beneficent unity of faith which was the basis of all their spiritual advancement and of their growth in all the arts of civilization. Indeed, whatever monuments they have left, like their beautiful old cathedrals, are the products of Catholic faith and still cry out for its once majestic exercise.

We need not wonder therefore that in the thousand years which elapsed from the Fall of Rome to the invention of printing, the successor of Peter was universally known as the apostolic man par excellence, the "Apostolicus," the "Domnus Apostolicus," the Apostolic Chief, or that men spoke less frequently of Rome and more often of the "Sedes Apostolica," the apostolic seat or centre of Christian religious authority visibly identical

with its divine origin amid the vicissitudes of the ages as they came and went. Nor ought we forget that if in the more refined East a subservient episcopate had not soon sacrificed the Catholic doctrine concerning the divinity, person, and natures of Our Lord Jesus Christ, it was chiefly owing to the courage with which at all times the Roman church set forth its testimony to the truths handed down by its apostolic founders. From the fourth to the seventh century, in popes like Julius and Damasus, in Celestine and Leo, in Martin and Agatho, the Eastern bishops and the great Eastern Councils of Ephesus, Chalcedon and Constantinople are dominated by the traditional authority of the Apostolic See, which in this long dogmatic strife ever appears not as an equal, but as head and judge, as a chief and reliable witness to the original Christian truth.

In an article written a score years ago for the *Catholic University Bulletin*, and entitled *The Roman Church before Constantine*, the late Monsignor Duchesne concludes his study of the historic papacy as follows: "It is not, then, from Christine literature that the Romans at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the following century, derived the authority of their Church. Damasus and his successors, Zosimus, Boniface, Celestinus, whose language shows so imposing a confidence in the prerogatives of their See, had not the information that permits us to invoke here Christian antiquity. Besides a very vague and almost effaced literary tradition, they had scarcely any other arguments than the tomb of St. Peter, their own episcopal succession, and the Gospel. More fortunate than they, we can prove by historical documents that in reality they were right; that the grandiloquence of certain letters of theirs is not an empty pretense, but the expression, sometimes a little exaggerated, of the most ancient ecclesiastical tradition."

✠THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

THE BOLLANDISTS: THE PERIOD OF TRIAL[1]

"The Acta Sanctorum," writes a Belgian biographer of the Bollandists, "are not only a collection of episodes and examples set forth for the meditation of pious minds, but a rich mine of material concerning the Church history of all the countries and centuries of Christian life. There are to be found within them numberless details in the field of chronology, geography, legislation, teaching, literature, the fine arts, industry, popular customs, wars, struggles between nations and peoples, the foundation of towns and the origin of modern States. With the facts concerning Belgium and France alone one could make up a long series of volumes. Bollandus brought the torch-light into the chaos of medieval legends, and rendered an invaluable service to all historical research without exception."[2]

The daring initiative of the Bollandists did not escape however trial by fire. The trials they underwent were not an exception in the history of Catholic holiness or learning. Men who rise above others in moral or intellectual greatness are accustomed to stand like oaks against the fury of the tempest. They have to face jealousy, calumny and hatred. These are the reward mankind renders for their sacrifice in the service of God; these are the tribute of mankind for their intellectual superiority. The lives of St. Joseph Calasanza and St. Alphonsus Ligouri furnish notable examples of moral grandeur of genuine Catholic heroism. The life of Papebroch likewise manifests the victorious humility of the great scholars of the Catholic Church.

In the first volume of the month of April of the *Acta Sanctorum*, Papebroch narrated the life of St. Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, who gathered the hermits scattered on the slopes of Mount Carmel and furnished them with a rule. The learned Bollandist felt that it was his duty to tell the truth about the historic origins of the Carmelites. On this point, the Carmelite tradition which considered Elias and Eliseus as the founders

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[1] Cf. *The Bollandists*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, October, 1923, pp. 341-357.

[2] *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, Brussels, 1868, Vol. II, p. 638.

of the order, and Jesus Christ himself as one of its members, had necessarily to be discarded. Papebroch deprecated the stubbornness of the Carmelites in clinging to a groundless tradition. He criticised them for not daring to tell the truth. In an unanswerable analysis he showed that the career of St. Albert, as traditionally retold, was filled with anachronisms and falsehoods.

> I do not attack the traditions of the Carmelites, he wrote, but I call for documents. I could find none. I dared not to trust to my conclusions. I went to a competent judge. He answered that the Carmelites would be pleased with the results of my inquiry. They would renounce their absurd traditions, and think only of the native beauty of truth. He told me that I am writing for bats that hide themselves in caverns, because they hate the sun. I am writing for eagles that since childhood nourished themselves with light, gaze at the sun, and enjoy the full light of day.[3]

The frankness of Papebroch stirred up a storm of invective and attack. His criticisms were a severe blow to the Carmelite tradition. The Carmelites answered. Unfortunately, in the heat of dispute, they lost the sense of moderation. Scientifically, they could not withstand the critical argument of Papebroch.

A series of pamphlets, with vehement titles, began to appear immediately after the publication of the first volume of April of the *Acta*. It began with the *Harpocrates Carmelitanus*, published at Cologne, in 1681, by Father Maximilian of St. Mary. The following year Father Valentine of St. Amand published in the same town the *Prodromus Carmelitanus*. In 1682 also appeared a book entitled: *The New Ismael, Whose Hand is Against All, and Against Whom are the Hands of All, that is Father D. Papebrochius, Jesuit, the Contradictor of All, Exhibited to the World, by Justus Camus*, (Augsburg, 1682). The same year the above-mentioned Father Valentine published a second pamphlet: *The Heroic Rule of Elias, Prophet of God, Given by his Life and Works, and Written by John and Albert, Patriarchs*

[3] *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. I, p. 799.

of Jerusalem, Defended Against the Vilifications of a Recent Writer, (Cologne, 1682). In 1684, Peter Fisher wrote his *Jesuiticum nihil,* and Christian del Mare published several pamphlets, one of which bore the following title: *A Jesuitical Historian, who in the Acta Sanctorum bombards St. Luke, St. Thomas, the Fathers of the Church, the Popes, and Cardinals, Indulgences, Bulls, Breviaries, and Ancient Monastic Institutions,* (Salzburg, 1685).[4] But the ephemeral renown of all these pamphleteers was obscured by Father Sebastian of St. Paul, provincial of the Belgian Carmelites, who dedicated to Innocent XI a special treatise on the antiquity of the Carmelite Order (Frankfort, 1686), and (in 1693) a ponderous attack, in folio, on Papebroch. The prolix title gives an idea of its rubbish. All the monuments of sacred literature are summoned before the tribunal of the bellicose Carmelite to demonstrate that Adam after the death of Eve, the holy Patriarchs Elias and Eliseus, St. Joseph, the Blessed Virgin, Jesus Christ Himself, wore the habit of the Carmelite Order:

> Exhibition of the Errors Scattered in the Annotations of Daniel Papebroch on the Acts of the Saints, and of the Sins Committed by Him Against the Poverty and the Age of Our Lord Jesus Christ; Against the Acts and Glorious Deeds, Bulls, Briefs and Decrees of the Supreme Pontiff; Against the Councils, the Holy Scripture, the Supremacy and the Unity of the head of the Church; Against the Dignity and Authority of the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church; Against the Saints Themselves, Their Cult, Relics, Acts and Writings; Against the Antiquity of the Indulgences; the Sacred History; The Breviary, Missal, Calendar, Martyrology, the Traditions Approved by the Church, the Revelation, and Some Other Ancient Monuments of Kingdoms, Regions, Towns and Generally Against All the Religious Orders. This book avers that all these errors rest on mere conjecture, on insolent criticism and sarcasm, following the methods of Pagans, heretics, Heresiarchs, and all the authors condemned by the Church.

[4] A bibliography of books for and against Papebroch is in SOMMERVOGLE, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus,* Bruxelles, 1890, vol. I, col. 1655-1664.

In spite of its bombastic tone and the strangeness of its enumerations, the title of this invective against Papebroch was drawn up in such a malignant spirit as to arouse suspicion against the purity of his faith. The foes of the learned Bollandist strove to portray him as a rebel puffed up with pride, a modernist of the XVIIth century, who cared not a seed for the Pope, Cardinals, revelation and tradition. Besides, the arsenal of charges against the Bollandist had been presented to the Pope by the Superiors of the Carmelite Order. Papebroch quickly realized that he must clear himself and his confrères from so many charges.

The folio volume of Father Sebastian is divided into 24 sections. Each section aims to establish that the criticism of Papebroch, like the wind of the desert, has left its ravages on every corner of sacred erudition. Far from being a critical refutation of the personal opinions of the learned Bollandist, it is, as Delehaye says, a long denunciation before the Christian world and the church tribunals.

The imputations against Papebroch border upon the ridiculous. The Bollandist is branded with betrayal of the Catholic Faith, because he quotes Suetonius, Tacitus, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. He dares to correct the errors of Baronius, to consider as a forgery the Acts of St. Sylvester, the baptism of Constantine, and Constantine's donation of the temporal power to the Pope. He doubts the authenticity of the Decretals, the old traditions as to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the acts of martyrs like St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Procopius, St. Judas, St. Pelagia; he denies that Martha and Mary Magdalene converted the Gauls to the Christian faith; he boldly affirms that St. Dionysius the Areopagite is not the author of the treatise of *Caelestis Hierarchia;* he makes game of the flying dragon of St. George; he talks drivel when explaining the origin of monasticism; he rejects the authenticity of the images of the Blessed Virgin painted by St. Luke; he does not recognize St. Athanasius as the writer of the Creed named after him; he considers the lists of indulgences by St. Sebastian and St. Sylvester as the work of a pious forger.

A little acquaintance with church history and patristic science in the light of historical criticism, fully justifies the con-

clusions of Papebroch. It is even astonishing that, at a time when so many unsound theories were looked upon as unshaken traditions, Papebroch foresaw the result of the modern analysis of texts, and above all, had the courage to express his views publicly.

But, when beaten on the battlefield of erudition, the foes of Papebroch attempted successfully to crush him by intrigue and accusation. The point on which they found him more vulnerable was his alleged disregard for the authority of the hierarchy. They accused him of placing bishops above cardinals; of despising the Roman congregations, of jeering at Roman traditions. All the passages of Papebroch relating to these burning questions were distorted, mutilated, misrepresented in order to show that their author in his literary pride trampled under foot the divinely instituted ruler of the Church.

The appeals to Rome did not exhaust the weapons of the foes of the Bollandists. They knew by experience that *Roma mora*, and that as a general rule the judgments of Roman Congregations are delayed until the storm of enmity and controversy has died down. They reported, therefore, the case of Papebroch to the Spanish Inquisition. Here, the accusations brought against Papebroch received a hearty welcome, The Carmelites were powerful in Spain and the boldness of these upstarts of hagiography who gave themselves the airs of oracles in the domain of historic criticism had aroused against them some of the conservative theologians of Spain.

It was a rude stroke to the Bollandists when on the 14th of November, 1695, the Spanish Inquisitors issued a decree against the volumes of March, April and May, of the *Acta Sanctorum*, and included the *Propylaeum* of the last month. The decree was as severe as it could be. It sounded like a death sentence to the whole work of the Bollandists. Henschenius and Papebroch looked at it as the sudden ruin of their literary career, the tragical close of lives spent in the labour of showing the heroism of the saints. The Inquisitors forbade the sale and the purchase of the volumes of the *Acta* under the pain of excommunication and fine. Here is in the rudeness of its style the sentence of the Inquisition:

> These volumes contain propositions erroneous, heretical, savouring of heresy, dangerous in matters of faith, scandalous, offensive to pious ears, leading to schism, seditious, harsh, audacious, arrogant, grievously offensive to several Popes, to the Apostolic See, the Sacred Congregation of Rites, to the Breviary and the Roman Martyrology. They debase to the lowest level the excellency of several saints and many writers; they contain irreverent references to many Fathers of the Church, and most important theologians. And likewise they comprise propositions offensive to the state of several religious orders, in particular, to the order of the Carmelites, and of their esteemed writers, belonging to divers nations, and especially to Spain. Lastly, these volumes contain a great deal of praise given to heretics or to the abettors of other detestable doctrines, prohibited and condemned by the Sovereign Pontiffs and the Church, and used in those volumes to attack the traditions of the Saints and the Church.

The decree of the Inquisition was published in four languages. The pious Bollandist read it. Doubtless his heart bled, but he merely wrote, "I have read it," at the end of the copy sent to him. He remained imperturbable.

If Papebroch was silent about himself, the most elementary prudence demanded that he dispel the cloud overshadowing the work of which he was the most perfect embodiment. It was necessary to defend the honour of the Bollandists, and to bring to full light their orthodoxy. To attain that end, two ways were to be followed at the same time: on the one hand, the pretended heresies and pernicious theories spread in the *Acta Sanctorum* were to be shown as groundless and fanciful; on the other, the ecclesiastical authorities were to be kept from setting in motion measures certain to destroy the Bollandists' work. The literary apology for the *Acta Sanctorum* was first confided to Father Janninck. In 1693 he published two open letters in reply to the assailants of Papebroch. They were followed, in 1695, by a

pamphlet.[5] In 1696-1698 appeared the admirable *Responsio Danielis Papebrochii ad exhibitionem errorum.*[6]

One hardly knows what most to admire, its dignity, even temper, and moderation, or the cogency of its arguments. He almost seems a judge rendering an impartial verdict, rather than a defendant desperately seeking arguments, and using all the resources of skill and learning to prove his innocence.

The *Responsio* of Papebroch was published with all the documents concerning the trial of the Bollandists and their contest with the Inquisition in an enormous folio, printed in 1755, and entitled: *Acta sanctorum Bollandiana apologeticis libris in unum volumen nunc primum contractis vindicata.* The volume bears the name of his publisher, Albert van der Plassche, Antwerp. Delehaye is inclined to believe that it was published in Italy.

> It is with a feeling of melancholy, he writes, that we read over the pages of the illustrious critic. Better than any other he was convinced of the fruitlessness of polemics; therefore he takes his pen in hand most reluctantly. He thought that the time squandered in giving prominence to the blunders and calumnies of Sebastian of St. Paul might have been usefully spent in continuing the *Acta.* He made up his mind to battle with his foes, when he was urged to do so by the desires of his superiors. Being aware that the best way to overwhelm an adversary was to prevent him from resorting to new quibbles, he followed, paragraph after paragraph, his act of accusation and left no incriminated proposition without answer. He treads upon the heels of his contradictor; he does not hesitate to return upon his own steps when needful. The discussion was spirited: the style was sharp, although free from bitterness. There were offensive words: at times a finely

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[5] *Epistola familiaris ad R. A. P. Sebastianum a S. Paulo circa librum eius qui inscribitur Exhibitio errorum,* Antwerp, 1683. *Amica expostulatio pro sua epistola familiari contra motivum juris praeter omnem juris formam nuper in vulgus sparsum, ab admodum R. P. Sebastiano a S. Paulo,* Antwerp, 1693. *Apologia pro Actis Sanctorum contra Adm. R. P. Sebastianum a S. Paulo,* Antwerp, 1685. See P. Boschius, *Elogium R. P. Conradi Janningi hagiographi Societatis Jesu, Acta Sanctorum,* July, vol, III, p. 4-7.

[6] *Responsio Danielis Papebrochii ex Societate Jesu Theologi ad exhibitionem errorum per Adm. R. P. Sebastianum a S. Paulo, Ordinis Carmelitani, evulgatam anno 1693,* Antwerp, 1693. A Summary of the *Responsio* appeared in the *Acta eruditorum,* Leipzig, 1698, p. 81-86; 129-136.

> sharpened epigram, and often a feeling of weariness produced by the necessity of coping with such a foe. He leaves not a beam standing of the formidable scaffolding arranged by Sebastian.

Doubtless, from his point of view, the learned Bollandist is right in his complaint. One need not regret, however, the loss of time spent in preparing an answer to the truculent Carmelite. The episode of the condemnation of the *Acta Sanctorum* is not a single one in the history of the Church. Catholic scholars need not only learning but humanity. In many cases the so-called defenders of orthodoxy act under the influences of pride, or personal vanity, or, as the French say, of jalousie de métier.

First of all, the foes of the Bollandists tried to cast upon them the blame of insubordination. Papebroch, they wrote, does not respect lawful authority. He lifts his voice against the Bishops of the Catholic Church. He rejects their opinions in hagiographic matters. "My veneration towards Bishops," answered Papebroch, "is boundless. Yet the consecration to the fullness of priesthood confers to Bishops no scientific attainment. The questions to be solved in the hagiographic field find their solution in documents and arguments. Blows with a crozier do not help."

The Bollandists were charged with the crime of making a clean sweep of all the legends and traditions, although they had the sanction of the Church, as they were contained in the breviaries, missals and the other liturgical books.

Papebroch observed that his criticism of legends was not a reason to disturb the good faith of those who believed in them. To be sure, these legends had received hospitality in the liturgical books. But the insertion of a legend in the breviary, or the missal, or the martyrology, was not a reason for inferring that their historical content was accurate or genuine. Documents are to be valued according to their sources. The lessons of the breviary are drawn from the Acts of the Saints. Their historical value is therefore dependent upon them, and if they arouse suspicion as to their authenticity, the same suspicion rests upon the lessons of the breviary. If they were to be looked upon as irreformable dogmatic facts or texts, why does the

Church correct the data of the breviary and missal, from time to time, in accordance with the outcome of research?

Martyrologies are in a different situation from the above mentioned books. They represent the results of the personal study of a private scholar. Cardinal Baronius ignored the "Hieronymian Martyrology" and the Greek synaxaries. He was deprived, therefore, of some of the best sources when he corrected the Roman Martyrology. Some artificial complications, known under the name of *Martyrologies* are publicly known either as collections of absurd tales and pious fables, for instance, the *Martyrologium hispanum* of Tamayo, (Lyons, 1651-1659), or as the biographical dictionaries or obituaries, for instance, the Franciscan Martyrology of Arthur du Moustier, who undertakes to canonize all the virtuous members of his order.

But, replied the detractors of the Bollandists, the practice of the Church imposes a tender respect for ecclesiastical traditions. The older a tradition is, the worthier it is of the veneration of the faithful.

The antiquity of a tradition, answered Papebroch, is not a mark of its credibility. We are not the judges of an historic event handed down to us by tradition. Its truth is to be measured or to be certified by the light of documents. The Church does not compel us to accept as a real truth the fabulous incidents of the legend of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins, or of the Parisian episcopate of Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite. Of course, these legends are to be discussed among scholars and not in the presence of an incompetent crowd.

> A preacher, writes Papebroch, would be unworthy of his sublime mission if, in order to flatter an ignorant crowd, and to win over their sympathies, he would exalt in grandiloquent terms some popular traditions that have neither sacred nor civil foundations, especially if he does not believe in them himself, and is otherwise convinced that a self-respecting learned man could not accept them. But according to my opinion it would be more inconsiderate and ill-inspired in the conduct of a confessor or preacher in a monastery of Carmelite nuns, if he attempted to trouble their conscience by dragging them into disagreeable controversies as to the traditions of their objections of their Order and their objec-

> tors. His troublesome zeal would result only in the loss of the affection of his hearers, in troubling the peaceful community, and often in scandalizing a whole town and deserving the blame even of those who agree with him as to the substance of the matter. There are some subjects that one may with propriety discuss freely in the schools, and treat in the books, but which it is not wise to debate before women or the common people who easily see in them an occasion for scandal.

The Carmelite critic of the Bollandists lamented that Papebroch set at naught the revelations made by God to private persons. According to his views the revelations of St. Bridget or St. Matilda were to be regarded as historic documents. Papebroch rightly protested against the new rule of historical criticism. The veneration due to Catholic saints does not imply that their revelations are to be accepted and believed as infallible utterances. The revelations attributed to a saint are not the word of divine revelation. They are not free of human error. The truth of that statement was convincingly shown in a treatise inserted in the *Acta Sanctorum*.[1] Private revelations, writes Papebroch, contradict each other. For instance, the description of the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the revelations of St. Mary Magdalen de Pazzi, differs from that given by St. Bridget. Among the prayers attributed to St. Catherine of Siena there is one denying the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. The Saint, perhaps, was following the version accepted by the Order to which she belonged.

> These principles to be applied to scientific researches, writes Father Delehaye, are wisdom itself. None could find fault with them, and even in our day, they may be followed with full confidence. Their application may become more rigorous gradually as the methods of research grow more perfect, and the hagiographic horizon wider. If presented to the public in the form of a clear synthesis, rather than being scattered into a polemical work, they had constituted a useful handbook of hagiographic critique.

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[1] *De sanctorum ecstaticorum secundum species naturaliter praehabitas durante raptu quandoque notarum dictis factisque ad historicarum quaestionum decisiones non transferendis. Acta SS.*, May, t. VI., p. 246-249.

The victory of Papebroch in the domain of logic and history was complete. Unfortunately, it was not enough. His adversaries tried to have the *Acta Sanctorum* condemned by Rome and by the Spanish Inquisition. First of all, Papebroch turned his eyes to Rome. He sent Father Janninck to defend before the Holy Office the orthodoxy of the writers of the *Acta*. He asked with due humility that the heretic propositions contained in his writings be pointed out to him, in order that he might publicly retract them. In case, however, that the Holy Office were unable to discover any heresy in the volumes already published of the *Acta*, he urged that the Congregation declare by a public document the groundlessness of the accusation brought against them.

The efforts of Father Janninck failed. On December 22nd, 1700, a decree of the Roman Congregation placed on the Index the Essay on the Popes prefixed by Papebroch to the *Propylaeum* of the volume of May of the *Acta*.[8] The condemnation had no bearing on the doctrine of faith. It concerned rather the expressions than the contents. Papebroch had used some words implying blame with regards to several conclaves. The decision of the Holy Office limited itself to the request of the correction of some passages.[9]

Papebroch was deeply affected by the condemnation, but it did not interrupt his literary work. His submission to the decree of Rome was absolute and sincere. We have an admirable document testifying to his humility. In 1701, he was grievously ill. He thought that his last hour had come, and before a notary public he signed the following deed to be handed to Clement XI:

> I Daniel Papebroch, an unworthy priest of the Society of Jesus, have worked forty-two years assidu-

[8] *Conatus chronico-historicus ad catalogum Romanorum Pontificum cum praevio ad eundem apparatu Godefridi Henschenii atque Petri Possini a S. Petro usque ad Paschalem II. Acta Sanctorum. Propylaeum ad septem tomos maii.*

[9] An historical sketch of the controversy between Jesuits and Carmelites, in Fr. Heinrich Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher: ein Beitrang zur Kirchen und Literaturgeschichte.* Bonn, 1885, t. II., p. 267-276. G. H. Putnam, *The censorship of the Church of Rome and its influence upon the production and distribution of literature,* New York, 1907, vol. II., p. 36.

ously to elucidate the Acts of the Saints. My work has been differently appreciated. Many have praised it, and others have blamed it, as usually happens. Now, that God calls me to enjoy, as I fairly hope, the society of the Saints, I make an appeal to the equity of His Holiness, Clement XI, and I implore him not to refuse me after death what in life I have sought in vain from his predecessor, Innocent XII. I asked Innocent XII that by virtue of the authority he exercises upon the whole Church he be good enough to show me or to have shown to me by the Spanish Inquisition the heretical propositions condemned as such in the decree of 1695. In case I have fallen unconsciously into heresy, I wish to retract it; but if the Spanish Inquisition is unable to discover in my books any heretical proposition, I ask that it at least erase from its decree the term of heresy, for its own good name as well as for mine.

At the moment of death and about to render to a Just Judge a full account of my acts, I ask His Holiness to grant me at least, after death, what I could not obtain in life. I have lived a Catholic, and I wish to die a Catholic by the Grace of God, and I have also the right of dying a Catholic in the eyes of men, which is not possible as long as the decree of the Spanish Inquisition shall appear to have been justly issued, and so long as people read in it that I have taught in my books heretical propositions for which I have been condemned.

At the close of this document, Papebroch thanked his friends who had attempted to defend him, and forgave his enemies.

Although Clement XI appreciated the hagiographic work of the Bollandists and was friendly to them, nevertheless the request of Papebroch was not granted nor the decree of the Inquisition withdrawn. The Bollandists took up the matter themselves. Father Janninck was about to set out for Spain when he received word that a professor of theology at Madrid, Father Cassani, had decided to devote his energies to the rehabilitation of the Bollandists. His efforts were pursued untiringly for nine years. His constancy was successful. In January, 1715, a new decree of the Spanish Inquisition virtually retracted the condemnation pronounced in 1695. Among the heretical propositions which had drawn upon the Bollandists the severity of the Spanish Inquisitors was the following one:

> In the library of the Escorial the corpses of old manuscripts are preserved and there they get rotten: In Excurialensi bibliotheca manuscriptorum cadavera asservantur et putrescunt.

Papebroch had triumphed over the machinations of his foes. The Bollandists could take up their work again. The Popes who followed Clement XI gave them very warm support. Benedict XIV wrote them a friendly letter which was inserted in the fourth volume of September of the *Acta*. The Essay, however, of Papebroch on the Chronology of the Popes, was not withdrawn from the Index of forbidden books till 1900.[10]

The trials of Papebroch hindered and delayed the Bollandists' work: "For several years," writes Delehaye, "their researches were suspended, and the prodigious activity of Papebroch broken off. The agitation provoked by controversies and intrigues beclouded the atmosphere. For long years, the Bollandists suffered the secret influence of those controversies. The workers felt that their steps were being dogged and therefore they were ever looking around suspiciously to avoid giving their invisible enemies a hold on them. Half a century after that event, fire was smouldering under the ashes, always ready to rise at the first breath."

The trials from within were followed in the same century by the trials from without. Yet the one and the other paved the way to a re-birth of the learned society and to a more brilliant renewal of its glorious activity.

A. PALMIERI, O.S.A.,
Rome, Italy.

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[10] J. HILGERS. *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904, p. 138.

ARTHUR O'LEARY[1]

If he were alive to-day walking the streets of London town, where a century ago his influence reached a height seldom enjoyed by men of his sacred calling, Father Arthur O'Leary, the Franciscan scholar and brilliant defender of the Faith, would be the last person in the world to allow the cognomen of controversialist to be added to his name. His was, however, the highest and purest type of true religious controversy. His method of meeting the attacks made upon the Church was ever lofty, dignified and Christian. In all that he wrote he resembled the ancient Fathers more than any Irishman of his times. Arthur O'Leary and his writings need to be resurrected to-day in the midst of the senseless wave of hate which the new No Popery is apparently creating. No name was better known in the United States in Archbishop Carroll's day that that of the Irish Franciscan, for he entered into the history of the American controversial literature in a curious way. In his *Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States*, John Carroll gave utterance to one of the few indignant expressions that can be found in his writings. In the form of a note in the first edition of his celebrated answer to the apostate Jesuit Wharton, Carroll stigmatises the memory of Ganganelli (Clement XIV.) who had suppressed the Society of Jesus in 1773. This note was cancelled by Carroll in subsequent editions of the *Address* and is now hard to find:

> I will take this Occasion to thank my former Friend Wharton for the Justice he has done to the Body of Men to which in our happier Days we both belonged, and whom the world will regret when the want of their Services will recall the Memory of them and the Voice of Envy, of Obloquy, of Misrepresentation, will be heard no more. I am sorry he mixed one word in their commendations, which cannot be admitted, and that he should ascribe ironically to the *Tender Mercy of the*

[1] Paper read at the Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Columbus, Dec. 26-29, 1923.

> *Church*, those *Oppressions and Acts of Violence* in which she had no part, and which were only imputable to the *unworthy Condescension*, and, I fear *sinister motives* of an *artful and temporising Pontiff*.

Father O'Leary took umbrage at this slur upon "a brother Franciscan", as Clement XIV. was, and in his *Review* of the Carroll-Wharton controversy, entered at some length upon a refutation of the charge made by Baltimore's first Bishop. Some letters passed between the two ecclesiastics in 1786-88, and the incident was not forgotten by Carroll in later years when the news of O'Leary's death reached Baltimore. They were contemporaries, and the Franciscan's sarcastic disposal of the Maryland ex-Jesuit was equalled by his biting irony on Wharton' reasons for defection. The passage is well worth reproduction, since it went the rounds of Protestant and Catholic divines of the day, to their infinite merriment. The course generally pursued by apostate clergymen is thus humorously painted:

> In the beginning of their apologies or justifications, they affect the serious solemnity of a tragic writer, by painting in sable colours the miseries that attend our subjection to authority; the misfortunes of the noble soul shackled in the fetters of obedience to pastors, "like a fair Zenobia in the chains of a tyrant." Our uncharitableness is arraigned, in excluding from eternal bliss and consigning to perdition Christians of every description, except ourselves. These are serious themes and of so affecting a nature as to enable a poet of moderate genius to work up a tolerable religious tragedy, were it now the custom, as in the 14th century, to exhibit such pieces on the stage, if, at the unravelling of the plot, they had not the effects of comedy, in exciting the laughter of the audience, when they come to know that all this solemn bustle is about a *wife*.

Arthur O'Leary was born in the County of Cork, Ireland, in the year 1729. Of his parentage and boyhood days nothing certain is known. At the time of his birth in Ireland there was no alternative for the Catholic between partial ignorance and religious apostasy. The odious penal code was in full possession

of the educational field; and the professed object of the legislative enactments against Catholic education in Ireland was the extermination of "Popery". Father Thomas Richard England, the earliest biographer of O'Leary, writing in 1822, has described this condition of affairs as follows:

> The measures pursued for this purpose were to remove every medium through which a knowledge of that creed might be conveyed, and by compelling parents in humble life to send their children for instructions to schools attached to the established church, to insure their conversion to protestantism. To the accomplishment of this object the anxiety of the legislature and of the nation appeared for many years to be directed; but in its pursuit the *end* only—the *means* never, were attended to. Calumny and misrepresentation, aided generally by force, were the instruments most frequently made use of. Publications, in which truth, justice, and religion were sacrificed to the dictates of an envenomed and interested bigotry, were put into the hands of young children as sources of moral and religious instructions; preservatives against popery, in which falsehood contended with absurdity for pre-eminence, were widely circulated among the people; and the pulpit from which the mild virtues of Christianity, mutual kindness, charity and forbearance ought to have been preached, and where, if truth and justice had been banished from the earth beside, their influence ought to have been felt and inculcated, became a theatre for political declamation, and an instrument of incitement to religious persecution.

Father O'Leary was born into a century that stands apart in the history of English Protestantism for the violence of its No Popery bigotry. That these anti-Catholic educational measures were highly unsuccessful, the history of the times bears eloquent witness. In 1713, we find Rev. John Richardson, Protestant Chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, in his *Short History of the Attempts that have been made to convert the Popish Natives of*

Ireland, lamenting the fact that "it is now the space of 160 years since the Protestant faith first appeared publicly in Ireland; and yet it hath made much smaller progress among the natives than could be wished, there being still as others generally believed, six Papists to one Protestant in the Kingdom". The "preservatives against Popery" which abound as generously in the charters of the Thirteen Original Colonies of America as on the statute books of the Mother Country, centered mainly—once the Government recognized the folly of adding to the Catholic martyrology—around education. It was a self-evident proposition to legislator and divine alike that Protestantism's only hope of survival lay in gaining complete control of elementary education. The existence of Catholic schools was considered then as now by the extreme No Popery bigots as a menace to the supremacy of Protestantism in the English-speaking world. Anyone familiar with the history of elementary education in the American Colonies realises how full our heritage of fear was in this respect.

In Ireland as in the American Colonies, at the time, one avenue of escape from the slavery of the established schools remained—the educational institutions on the Continent. In 1747, at the age of eighteen, Arthur O'Leary, probably in disguise as was necessary since the days of Elizabeth, left Ireland and entered the monastery school of St. Malo, in Brittany. After the completion of his philosophy and divinity, he was ordained to the priesthood as a member of the Capuchins. Shortly afterwards he was sent by his superior to assist the English and Irish prisoners then confined in the fortress of St. Malo. This was during the last years of the century-long struggle between France and England for the control of America. Many English and Irish Catholics had been impressed into British service during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), and as Chaplain to these unfortunate prisoners, Father O'Leary was approached by the Duc de Choiseul who sought the Franciscan's spiritual influence over the captured men to induce them to join the French colours. This proposal of treason O'Leary indignantly repulsed, and he used the incident with telling effect some twenty years later in his famous reply to John Wesley. The founder of Methodism ran true to his No Popery age when he published his *Defence of the Protestant Association*, which was then (January, 1780) gather-

ing impetus for the orgy of the Gordon Riots of the following June. One paragraph of the *Defence* will bear repetition because it crystallizes the state of mind Father O'Leary had to meet and cope with in his writings. Wesley had written: "However unconcerned the present generation may be, and unapprehensive of the danger from the present growth of Popery, how calmly soever they may behold the erection of Popish chapels, hear of Popish schools being opened, and see Popish books publicly advertised, they are to be informed that our ancestors, whose wisdom and fairness have transmitted to us those religious and civil liberties which we now enjoy, had very different conceptions of the matter; and had they acted with that coldness, indifference, and stupidity, which seems to have seized the present age, we had now sunk into the most abject state of misery and slavery under an arbitrary prince and Popish government. It was the opinion of our brave, wise, circumspect and cautious ancestors that an open toleration of the Popish religion is inconsistent with the safety of a free people and a Protestant government." Wesley gloried in his own mystic way in the blood and fire of the Gordon Riots. His spiritual ears heard the booming of the anvils of Rome where chains were being forged for the enslavement of England. His spiritual insight into the times revealed to him the silent, steady action of the Papist "undermining our happy Constitution." He saw clearly, where others were but groping in the dark, "the purple power of Rome advancing by hasty strides to overspread this once happy nation." His voice, which he had consecrated to the Gospel of Christ, called upon Protestants of the older and less tolerant breed to "shudder at the thought of darkness and ignorance, misery and slavery, spreading their sable wings over this highly-favoured isle". His soul trembled for the Ark of God in old England. He could sum it all up in a word—no Catholic was to be trusted; all were traitors at heart. O'Leary replied to this old-fashioned Elizabethan political scaremongery: "I am a member of that communion which Mr. Wesley aspersed in so cruel a manner . . . . . I solemnly swear without equivocation or the danger of perjury that in a Catholic country, where I was chaplain of war, I thought it a crime to engage the King of England's soldiers or sailors into the service of a Catholic monarch, against their Protestant sovereign. I resisted the solicita-

tions and ran the risk of incurring the displeasure of a minister of state, and losing my pension; and my conduct was approved by all the divines in a monastery to which I then belonged; who all unanimously declared that, in conscience, I could not have behaved otherwise".

This staunch support of the crown of England no doubt drew down upon him the displeasure he speaks of, for in 1771, he left France for good and returned to Ireland. He took up his residence in Cork, and erected there a small chapel which became generally known as "Father O'Leary's Chapel". Here he quickly attracted attention and interest through his sermons, and his little church was soon crowded with the intellectual people of all denominations in the city. Bishop England's brother, who wrote the *Life of the Rev. Arthur O'Leary*, in 1822, from material given to him by the illustrious Bishop of Charleston, says of O'Leary at the time that:

> His sermons were chiefly remarkable for a happy strain of strong moral reasoning, bold figure, and scriptural allusion. Religious controversy sometimes engaged him; but it was always more of a defensive than offensive nature. He was a lover of truth, and he sought to vindicate it from misrepresentation; a friend of charity and good-will, and he ever enforced their dictates. The kindness of his nature harmonized with the precepts of the Gospel to make him tolerant of the errors and mistakes of his neighbor; the folly which he could not correct he pitied; and, if the flashes of his fervent imagination sometimes exposed to light the recesses of the dark and gloomy bigotry which he combated, the impulse was ever controlled by truth, and never yielded to, but as necessary for the defence and conducive to the interests, of Christianity.

During these years Father O'Leary's position in the British Isles was unique. He was preaching boldly against the No Popery of the day, when, as Newman so poignantly described it in the *Second Spring*, Catholics in England were as shadows passing across the stage of their darkened past. The very year

O'Leary opened the chapel in Cork saw the arrest of Bishop Talbot of the London District, "for exercising part of the office and function of a Popish Bishop", while his venerable superior, Dr. Challoner, was obliged to go about in secret. No priest of London would have dared to speak as O'Leary spoke during those years in Cork. The Catholic Relief Act of 1778 ameliorated in a great measure the social and legal disabilities under which the Catholics lived; but it took courage before that date to engage the enemy on the ground of common facts of controversy. Father O'Leary was too prudent to risk police interference by publishing his sermons at the time; but in 1775, the vicious irreligion of a Scottish physician, named Blair, who wrote over the name of *"Michael Servetus"* a volume entitled *Thoughts on Nature and Religion,* seemed to demand a public answer. Scepticism was becoming popular and O'Leary's friends, Catholic and non-Catholic, persuaded him to reply to Blair, who was then living in Cork. Under the existing laws, Father O'Leary was unable to publish anything of a controversial nature, and with characteristic courage he called upon his friend, Dr. Mann, the Protestant Bishop of Cork, for protection. This was readily promised and O'Leary's *Defence of the Divinity of Christ and the Immortality of the Soul* captured the intelligent reading public of the city. It was now impossible for the humble Franciscan to remain hidden. He himself became conscious of his own latent powers as a controversalist, and productions from his pen rapidly followed until his death, some forty years later.

Once in the arena, the shafts of the No Popery pamphleteers soon sought him as a shining mark. His victory over Blair was too sudden and too well-liked by the Anglican parsons to suit the Nonconformist taste; and when a year later (1777), O'Leary gave to the press his first great work *Loyalty Asserted or the New Test Oath Vindicated,* war was declared upon him. With this tract, the Franciscan became the acknowledged exponent of Catholic apologetics on the much abused question of Catholic loyalty. Much—too much in fact—of the religious history of Catholicism in England and Ireland from the time of James I. had centered around the thorny problems of the phraseology on the Oath of Allegiance. An Oath acceptable alike to Pope and to King was the apparent price of Catholic relief. There was never more

than a momentary hesitation on the part of the Catholic body in swearing allegiance to the crown, even in the days of the Armada; but O'Leary's position was handicapped by the fact that not all the members of the household of Faith were in accord over the phrasing to be used in defining their temporal and spiritual allegiance. The unhappy divisions which had arisen in the reign of the mountebank King, James I., were only settled by Catholic Emancipation, in 1829. The Oath separated many of the best men in Ireland. Time-servers to the crown did not look with favour upon those who opposed the Test Oath of his day, and who knows but that John England's fight against the Oath did not win him, via Rome, exile and a bishopric in the far-off Carolinas.

The Test Oath defended by O'Leary was imposed by the Irish Act of 1774; and while the Oath received, as all its congeners from 1559 had received, a dubious consent from the Holy See, it proved to be the beginning of the end of open religious persecution in Ireland. O'Leary gave a careful analysis of the Oath in his *Loyalty Asserted* and examined each of the clauses in the light of Canon Law and tradition. The great stumbling block had ever been the Pope's deposing power. The "bloody question" on this score had sent scores to the rack and gibbet in Elizabeth's day, and it remained all through the penal law period the divining rod of a lusty Protestantism. With but a change of dress we meet it all through the nineteenth century in the vigilant No Popery Protestantism of the United States. Rome remained ever silent on the question. No Pope had ever claimed the deposing power as a doctrinal part of the Faith. Theologians had raised it; theologians might settle it. O'Leary wasted little sentiment on it. He had no love for the subtleties of Bellarmine, and he brushed the fatal claim aside as so much chaff. To meet the No Popery advocates who were then clamouring for the forcible extermination of all Catholics as potential traitors, he had no time to waste on the *pros* and *cons* of a question that belonged rather to the scholar's closet than to the political arena. He felt that he needed to make clear—as clear as the noon-day sun in the heavens—the ineluctable fact that allegiance to the Holy See in no way trammelled Catholic allegiance to the crown. The fact was to be his anvil during the rest of his life. Against

Bellarmine and the others who had apparently stood for the deposing power under certain given conditions, he told his readers that he would "marshall a formidable army of scholastic divines, armed *cap-a-pie* in support of regal pre-eminence . . . some of whom qualify the deposing power with the epithets of *horrible and seditious*, and others style it *downright madness*". O'Leary wanted an end to all cavilling over words on the part of Catholics. Nothing divine or ecclesiastical, he believed, stood between them and their loyalty to the King. Owing to the miserable controversy over the phraseology of the Oath, he writes "we groan under the yoke of misery and oppression throughout the long and trying periods of six successive reigns. We suffer for crimes we have never committed".

Linked with the difficulty over the Oath of Allegiance, O'Leary saw a second fatal tendency among his fellow-Catholics —Jacobitism. He believed that the Stuarts had bewitched his people, and throughout his writings he treats the king and queens of that race with a scorn that is unique in English literature. To write of them in bitter invective to a generation that came into life on the crest of the Jacobite Rising of 1745 was courage of no mean calibre. He never lost an opportunity of attempting to alienate Irish sentiment from the burdensome tradition of the Stuarts. With a mockery that is inimitable he follows the careers of each of the Stuarts down to the bank of the Boyne, where the last of them "would not have scrupled to repossess himself of the throne at the expense of Irish blood, but the price would have been too dear, when acquired with the loss of English subjects." The Stuarts had spread penal bitterness in Ireland. On account of them, and a long time after their death, "they deal out transportation to the clergy, poverty and distress to the laity. They hang as so many swords over our heads." With such a thesis it is evident that O'Leary soon became *persona grata* in Hanoverian circles and an attempt was made to pension him as an auxiliary.

Father O'Leary was a loyalist to the British crown, without, however, in any way sacrificing his staunch championship of the Irish nationalist cause. He believed in supporting the crown not because it was expedient in days when Europe was fast breaking the bonds which bound her to the old order of things,

but because it was strict Catholic doctrine to give allegiance to the legitimate ruler of his country. That he accepted a pension is still a matter of doubt. The charge is made in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that before 1784 "he was obviously in receipt of a secret pension of at least 100 pounds a year, which had been conferred on him in acknowledgement of the value set by the authorities on the loyalist tone of his writings." This is apparently based on Froude's charge against Father O'Leary of dealing secretly with the English Government against his fellow-Irish. This slur upon O'Leary's honour has never been fully studied by Irish historians; though, perhaps, it was not deemed necessary, since Froude's interpretation of the State Papers is open to a counter-charge of misreading his sources. Froude saw in Father O'Leary "the most fascinating preacher, the most distinguished controversalist of his time—a priest who had caught the language of toleration, who had mastered all the chords of Liberal philosophy, and played on them like a master; whose mission had been to plead against prejudice, to represent his country as the bleeding lamb, maligned, traduced, oppressed, but never praying for her enemies; as eager only to persuade England to offer its hand to the Catholic Church, and receive in return the affectionate homage of undying gratitude."

In his *Secret Service Under Pitt*, Fitzpatrick has given us a lengthy and rather detailed inquiry into Froude's charges against the celebrated Irish Franciscan. "Throughout", he says, "I carefully weighed all available evidence; I am of opinion that the charge against this priest has not been proven". That he was voted a pension from the crown for his literary labours is another matter. Father Morgan D'Archy, in his funeral panegyris on O'Leary, admits that "the well-timed and effectual exertions of this extraordinary man, could not fail to attract the notice of government, and, consequently, were not suffered to remain unrewarded by his gracious and beneficent sovereign." This was quite a common thing in those days; it is not unknown to-day in England. That O'Leary was approached by government spies with the temptation of an increase, if he would enter into their unsavory plots against the Irish people, is possibly true, but it will take more than statements from the man who suffered most from what the French call "Froude's disease" to

make the charge of treason to Ireland against O'Leary a matter even of discussion. Buckley, who published a *Life of Father O'Leary* in the 60's, had access to papers unknown to O'Leary's first biographer, Dr. England. He writes with less sympathy for his subject than Dr. England, and he has proven that the Franciscan had no part in the secret conspiracy against Irish peace during Pitt's day. Neither Plowden in his *Ireland Since the Union*, nor Lecky in his *History of England* have done full justice to O'Leary.

Father O'Leary's next publication was an *Address to the Common People of the Roman Catholic Religion*—a tract printed in August, 1779, and one that has been strangely overlooked by American historians. There was anxiety in London after Saratoga and the French Alliance, and it was feared that the Irish would rally to the side of the American rebels. A French fleet rode menacingly in the Channel, and with "England's plight, Ireland's opportunity" again in the air, a French invasion of Ireland was dreaded by London. Father O'Leary saw in the crisis an opportunity for the Catholics of Ireland to prove the staunchness of their loyalty to their legitimate rulers and to break down once and finally the No Popery charge of doubtful allegiance. He appealed to his fellow-countrymen not to be carried away by the false hopes held out to them by France. "It would not be," he says, "with a view to feed a hungry Irishman that a number of French dragoons would make incursions in Ireland.... Whatever distinctions the laws of this unhappy kingdom make between Protestant and Papist, a conqueror's sword makes none.... When the French joined the Americans, it was not from love of the Presbyterian religion. If they landed here, it would not be with a design to promote the Catholic cause... A conqueror's sword is an undistinguishing weapon, were even a crucifix tied on to the end of it!" The *Address* was successful and was not forgotten in later years when O'Leary was presented to the royal family by Edmund Burke.

As is rather generally known to American historians, John Wesley has left behind him a letter in which the principles of the American rebels are lashed with a viciousness that out-tones many similar productions of the day; and to his pen must the discredit be given of fomenting bitter discord between Catholics and non-Catholics in Great Britain at a time when England

needed every man to do her work in unity and concord. Wesley's *Letter Concerning the Civil Principles of Roman Catholics,* published in London in January, 1780, blazoned anew the hatred of three hundred years in a line that has lost none of its vindictiveness among his followers to-day: "I insist upon it, that no Government, not Roman Catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion." This infamous *Letter* and his equally degrading *Defence* of Lord George Gordon's Protestant Association helped manfully to precipitate the horrid scenes of June, 1780, to which allusion has already been made, when the torch and the sword were used during a wild triduum of bloodshed to exterminate Popery in London. O'Leary's *Remarks,* in reply to Wesley, openly branded him with the crime of "inflaming the rabble, dividing his Majesty's subjects, propagating black slander and throwing the gauntlet to people who never provoked him." Lord George Gordon read the *Remarks* in the House of Commons and interpreted them as signifying a plot to massacre the Protestants of England. In his *Life of Wesley,* Southey exaggerates the importance of a meeting between Father O'Leary and Wesley at the house of a friend, in 1787. Father England admits, however, that the meeting did effect a change in Wesley's No Popery fanaticism. "The History of Europe", O'Leary told his antagonist, "proclaims aloud that the Roman Catholics are not passive engines in the hands of the Popes, and that they confine his power within the narrow limits of his spiritual province. They have often taken his cities and opposed Paul's Sword to Peter's Keys and silenced the thunders of the Vatican with the noise of their cannon."

There grew out of this controversy with Wesley another book which became the most popular of all O'Leary's works—the *Essay on Toleration or the Plea for Liberty of Conscience,* which appeared in 1781. Here the sturdy champion of the Church enters within the inmost citadel of the No Popery garrison and with his customary satire gives an answer to each of its inmates. The *Essay* remains to-day a classic rejoiner to the No Popery agitation, no matter under what disguise it displays its doctrines. "Persecution on the score of conscience", he writes, "has thinned the world of fifty millions of human beings, by fire and sword." Religious persecution he calls the offspring

of lawlessness—"tyranny begot it, ignorance fostered it, and barbarous divines have clothed it in the stolen garments or religion". In the course of his work he pays a deserved tribute to the Quakers and to William Penn, who "had the success of a conqueror in establishing and defending his colony amongst savage tribes, without ever drawing the sword . . *In his republic it was not the religious creed but personal merit that entitled every member of the society to the protection and emoluments of the State*". This *Essay* won for him the much-coveted honour of election to the *"Illustrious Order of the Monks of St. Patrick"*; and in the first edition of his works (1781), he reiterated his plea for tolerance—"I plead for the Protestant in France, and for the Jew in Lisbon as well as for the Catholic in Ireland".

Father O'Leary was now a national figure. The Convention of all Ireland, held in Dublin, in November, 1783, received him, clad as he was in his brown Franciscan habit, as a leader. A group of Cork citizens presented him with a gold medal as a token of his gallant defence of religious freedom. There were, of course, those of his own Faith who denounced his views on toleration as latitudinarian and heretic, but O'Leary was too sure of his doctrine to be perturbed by these attacks. His answer to Bishop Woodward of Cloyne, who had renewed the No Popery charge of Catholic disloyalty, brought the Anglican prelate into disrepute with his own people. Whether it was on account of this controversy or because he found himself misunderstood by his own people, or for other reasons yet unknown, he left Cork in 1789 and went up to London to take the post of chaplain at the Spanish Embassy. There he had as his colleague, Dr. Hussey, the intimate friend of Samuel Johnson, who had taken part officially in the peace negotiations which came after Yorktown. Dr. Hussey, whom Lecky describes as the ablest English-speaking bishop of his time, was placed over the See of Waterford and Lismore in 1797, and after his departure, Father O'Leary was one of the acknowledged leaders of the Irish in London. His house in Half Moon Street was a rendezvous for many of the prominent statesmen and men in Parliament of the day. Burke, Grattan, Curran, Lord Petre, and the other members of the English Catholic Committee, among whom

was Lord Stourton, a former pupil of John Carroll, came to partake of his hospitality and to enjoy his conversation. "It was impossible after an evening spent in his society", his biographer writes, "not to seek at every future opportunity a renewal of the delight which his wit, pleasantry, and wisdom afforded". A second volume of his works appeared in 1815 and chief among these is his funeral oration delivered in honour of Pius VI. before the future Cardinal Erskine at St. Patrick's church, in Soho, on November 16, 1797. Father O'Leary never lost sight of his main theme, and in this sermon as in others which he gave at this time, he returned to the No Popery charges against his Faith. In one eloquent passage he says:

> Volumes may be written and libraries filled with books against Popery—fanatics may prophesy—modern Goths and Vandals may desolate provinces and bury cities in ruins—the temporal sovereignty of Rome, originally the gift of temporal princes, may be destroyed, and Rome herself undergo the fate of Carthage, and be known only in history—the pope's head may be carried on a pole; and the Turkish Solyman's threat that he would feed his horse with oats on St. Peter's altar, may be carried into execution: but the spiritual supremacy of Rome, and the succession of the lawful pastors, with whom Christ promises to be until the end of time, can never be destroyed by all the powers of the earth. They are neither riches, nor opulence, nor temporal power, or grandeur, which their Master has promised them. Should one pastor be beheaded, another with the same spiritual power and title to the chair of unity will be elected either on the brink of a lake where Peter received the commission to feed Christ's flock, or in some subterraneous vault in times of persecution (if such should happen), as well as in the magnificant palace of the Vatican.

Like all men of a joyous, sunny nature, who love giving pleasure to others, Arthur O'Leary's melancholy ran deep in his soul like a stream beneath the sea. He saw in contrast the beauties

of the Faith and the ugliness of the bigotry that assailed it. He saw the pathways towards religious peace in Ireland strewn with the wreckage caused by those who were able to lead their flocks into harmony with their Catholic neighbours, and who conspicuously and with malice drove them apart. His life-time of effort towards concord in his beloved Erin seemed wasted, and forlorn he watched the coming of the Reaper. Towards the end of the year 1801, ill-health seems to have embittered him, and a gloom settled upon his mind. A journey to France in the hope of regaining his strength only added to his melancholy, for the France he had left in 1771 had passed away for ever. He arrived in London on January 7, 1802, and the next day he passed away. The solemn dirge and High Mass were celebrated in St. Patrick's, and he was laid to rest in St. Pancra's churchyard. The Marquis of Hastings erected a monument over his grave, and a memorial tablet was placed in St. Patrick's in testimony of "his fervid piety, discreet zeal, and steady loyalty".

Few men of his day possessed the power of moulding public opinion more than O'Leary. Everything he said and everything he wrote was admired; he delighted men of all conditions in life with his sagacious reflections on current affairs and with his amiable simplicity of manners. His published writings were of great value to our first American prelates in their effort to stem the rising tide of No Popery in this country. When he laid down his pen, his fellow-citizen of Cork, John England, took it up and carried on the fight for enlightenment in the gloom Calvinism was making in America.

There is a grave and arresting lesson in the life of a man of genius such as Arthur O'Leary undoubtedly was. He saw that all political disturbances which had their origin in religious bigotry were an appeal to mob rule, and that so long as No Popery was allowed to stalk among the children of the Faith, peace was impossible. With deadly monotony and with equal deadly regularity since Father O'Leary's passing, the religious world in England, Ireland and America has been disturbed with that most popular of all "wolf, wolf" cries—No Popery. It is the nakedest thing set adrift on the stream of life. Cover its body with the habiliments of philosophic or political cant, and its eyes and ears and mouth are lecherous, sensual, and avaricious. Cover its

gluttonous eyes, and the stark ugliness of its body is heightened. It is a thing unclean, a thing criminal, at large in Christian society. It is a leper that has escaped the healing shadow of the Master. No one has ever honestly loved it. Many have used it to contaminate a generation devoted to good-fellowship and religious peace. Alone, of all the vile charges against the Catholic Faith, No Popery has survived the corroding rust of time. Great minds have risen up to combat it during the past four hundred years, but it lives on in ignorant and fanatical hearts. Measuring the life of a giant like Father O'Leary with all who have entered the lists against this symposium of Protestant hatred for the Church of Rome, the question naturally arises: What is the use?—"When I see my religion glanced at," O'Leary once wrote, "as inconsistent with the security of the state; when I see Catholic prelates, who are an ornament to age, wounded by an intimation that their allegiance to their king in temporals is a prevarication of their obedience to their supreme pastor in spirituals, I am at a loss what to say".

REV. PETER GUILDAY, Ph.D.,
The Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.

THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE[1]

This two volumes of this scholarly and important work of Professor Bury cover less than half of the period to which his former one on the same subject, published more than thirty years earlier, was devoted. They extend over the history of the last five years of the fourth century, all of the fifth and sixty-five years of the sixth century. They are published at what would seem to be a psychological moment in the history of the world. Men have long speculated on the causes of the downfall of the successive great empires of civilization of ancient times, who seemed to think that the latest of them—the dissolution of the Roman Empire—was also the last in the long series, and that thereafter the history of governments and of civilization was to proceed along an only occasionally interrupted line of orderly development. Yet, the speculative mind will find no difficulty in tracing a parallel—which, even if subsequent events should prove it to be not true, is none the less instructive—between the one hundred seventy years of which Professor Bury treats and those of a shorter but perhaps equally important recent period of our own time. Beginning with Augustus there had grown up a system of government which was really one of the many governments inspired by a common purpose and largely dominated by one will, and under this system the peace of the world, the *Pax Romana*, peace within the limits of the Empire, was preserved, almost unbroken, over a larger area and during a longer time then ever before in the history of men. So, in our own time, by the year 1870, there had grown up over a large part of the area occupied by civilized men a system of related governments largely inspired by a common purpose and dominated by a similar, if not the same, will. And, under this system and from that date, until the outbreak of the Great War, the general peace between these civilized governments—and in one sense it might be called the Pax Germanica, peace controlled by a dominating fear of one

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[1] *History of the Later Roman Empire* from the death of Theodosius I to the death of Justinian (A. D. 395 to A. D. 565); by J. B. BURY, Regius Professor of Modern History and Fellow of Kings College, in the University of Cambridge, Hon. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 2 Vols. Macmillan. London, 1923.

overweening power—was preserved for a longer period and over a larger area than at any time since the breaking up of the Roman Empire. Under both of these systems growing forces of nationalism with growing separatist tendencies were held in repression. Conquered and subject races acquired in greater or less degree the civilization of the dominant one only to use the power thus gained to give the *coup de grace* not to the civilization but to the body politic which was the host to their parasitic existence when this host became relatively too weak to withstand their assaults. It is the process illustrated in the life, growth and death of all organisms from the beginning of time. Yet this process of nature can be, as all our progress proves, controlled by the intelligence of men. The germs of disorganization, which means the death of the individual organism, are always present, apparanetly dormant, but waiting their opportunity; and when their opportunity comes all hope of continued life depends upon the promptness of man's intelligence in profiting by the lessons of his former experience. And in the present tendency to social and political disorganization it is possible that the continued life of orderly government, and possibly the present civilization itself, over a great area depends upon whether Christian statesmen have learned anything really worth while from the plain teachings of history.

The first volume is devoted to the history of somewhat more than one hundred and twenty years of the one hundred and seventy covered by the two. In the Eastern Empire it covers the reigns of Emperors and usurpers to the death of Anastasius I and in the West to the death of Anthemius. Within these limits of time occur fifteen Bishops of Rome, seventeen Patriarchs of Constantinople, fifteen Patriarchs of Alexandria, nineteen Patriarchs of Antioch and eight Bishops and Patriarchs of Jerusalem. Yet, strange to say, there is no equal period in history, so critical, so filled with events of the gravest moment, so crowded with political changes the details of which, did we have them, would be so important for students of statecraft, but in regard to which we have such fragmentary knowledge. Naturally, the history of the Christian Church, which had become firmly established under Constantine and which was growing by leaps and bounds in influence and power is much more complete

than that of the slowly disintegrating civil governments of the Empire. Naturally, the materials for its history were crystallized and preserved in a growing, vigorous organism while most of the civil history perished with the dying one. We know more of the personalities of the Church by whom was preached much of what was good in form and substance of the then civilization than we do of those under whom and by whom was destroyed the civil government under which that civilization had developed. Of many of these latter nothing but a name, a few words to show that they lived and died—*vox et praeterea nihil*—are all that is left. Roman Emperors, statesmen and generals, barbarian chieftains, Alaric, Athaulf, Attila, flit across the stage like shadows, leaving us with partial knowledge of what they did, but why they did it, what motives inspired them—nothing. Of the character of the histories that have been lost and why they were lost Professor Bury gives an interesting account in Chapter XXIV, on Procopius, of his second volume.

In his account of the first one hundred twenty years of his total period of one hundred seventy years the author gives, as far as they can be arrived at, the details of the process by which the provinces of the Western Empire became German kingdoms. He tells us that this volume might well be entitled "The German Conquest of Western Europe." It is that part of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire which most interests the average European and those elsewhere in the world who derive their origin from that stock.

No one can study this disintegration of the Roman Empire without reviving in his mind the age-old question, "What was the cause of it?" At the outset is to be noted the fact that while the civil and administrative framework of the Empire fell to pieces and its existence as a national organism perished, its civilization did not. Botanists have long noticed that the sure, perpetuated life of many beautiful flowers and valuable fruit trees, in their original, exact form, required reproduction not from seeds but from the original stock, or it requires grafting of that stock upon a similar yet different one. Nevertheless, reproduction from seed may chance at times to continue the original form or even to produce something far more beautiful and valuable. So it has been with Roman civilization. It has reproduced itself, sometimes for better, sometimes for worse, from its own seed;

but more than that, it grafted itself upon the varied stocks whose wild growth crowded its original form out of existence.

And it is specially interesting to note this fact in connection with Professor Bury's conclusion that Christianity, in its political effects, was not a disintegrating force nor did it tend to weaken the power of Rome to resist her enemies. In his opinion, theological heresies did, indeed, prove a distintegrating force in the Eastern Empire during the seventh century when the differences in doctrine alienated the Christians in Egypt and Syria from the government in Constantinople and facilitated the conquests of the Saracens. But there was no such vital division in the West after the defeat of Arianism, and there the effect of Christianity was to unite rather than to sever, and to check the separatist spirit of what, however, was the growing spirit of nationalism. In fact he thinks that Constantine had taken warning from the anarchism of the third century and that in his political calculations it was the clearly perceived unifying tendency of the Christian religion which largely caused him to establish it in power.

We often see in nature how the pure waters condensed in the ether fall during eons of time upon the earth and absorb into themselves the tiny particles of many beautiful and precious minerals. Then they gradually permeate the dead tissue of things that once flourished in life, slowly substituting, atom for atom, the precious minerals for the dead tissue; and then we find the form of perishable matter reproduced in unperishable forms of gorgeous beauty. So, the divine influence of the glorious sun which has illuminated and given life to the world for two thousand years penetrated, century after century, not only to the clear streams but to every foul morass and loathsome swamp of Roman civilization drawing up to itself invisible vapors, purifying them by its influence and condensing them and returning them to earth where they slowly substituted the dead and dying tissues of that civilization with the infinitely beautiful minerals and ores of Christianity, preserving much of the form and all that was good in it in other forms of greater and imperishable beauty. That is what Christianity has done for Roman civilization.

Professor Bury rejects, and all students will agree with him, that Rome was overthrown by an onrush of irresistible hordes

of northern barbarians. Nevertheless, the fact remains that, small as he makes these forces to have been, they did overrun the western Empire and within an astonishingly short time established Teutonic kingdoms in Roman provinces in Italy, North Africa, Spain and Gaul. How are we to account for the fact that a barbarian army could besiege Rome for many months and depart actually stronger in numbers than when it arrived?

Perhaps he, like many other historians, does not attach sufficient weight to the influence of slavery. It has been estimated that there were about this time, as many as 60,000,000 slaves within the Empire. These were in large part men and women of civilizations as old as, or older than, that of Rome. Most of those that were barbarians came from the wild races of the north, and were imbued with an intense, savage patriotism which made them a fruitful source of recruits for the invaders.

It does not seem possible that the author intends to advocate the theory that the fall of the Empire was due to chance. Yet he says: "The truth is that the success of the barbarians in penetrating and founding states in the western provinces can not be explained by any general considerations. * * * * * The gradual collapse of the Roman power in this section of the Empire was the consequence of *a series of contingent events*. No general causes can be assigned that made it inevitable." And these words were written in the midst of a war that was disintegrating Europe due to some, at least, of the causes that led to the disintegration of the Roman Empire.

The first of these contingencies was, in his judgment, the irruption of the Huns into Europe. The second was the defeat of Valens. The third was the death of his successor. The fourth was the accession of Honorius. Yet, in his opinion, none of these events need have led to the disaster which he claims was due to the fifth contingency, the supremacy of Stilicho. He does not think Stilicho to have been a deliberate traitor to the Empire but that, as a German, though with the belief that he was serving the Empire and probably with the intent to do so, he was not the man to be entrusted with the destinies of Rome against the hordes of Germans both within and without the Empire.

The policy of elevating Germans to the highest posts of command in the army had grown up under Valentinian I, Gratian

and Theodosius and was continued under Honorius. And it was a necessity. Professor Bury admits that the supremacy of a Stilicho was due to the fact that the defense of the Empire had come to depend on the enrollment of barbarians in large numbers in the army, and that it was necessary to render the service attractive to them by the prospect of power and wealth; and further, that this was a consequence of the decline in military spirit, and of depopulation, in the old civilized Mediterranean countries. But if all these facts made the course that was followed a necessary one the supremacy of Stilicho can not properly be regarded as a mere contingency, an accidental or a chance event.

Let us suppose that in the course of time in our own day, France should find it desirable or necessary to occupy all of the Teutonic territory of Europe, thus bringing the frontier which she must defend directly up to the Slavonic powers on the east and south west. Within her new borders would necessarily be isolated groups of these Slavonic powers, as groups of northern barbarians were incysted in the Roman domain. Her greatly extended frontiers would require her to recruit her armies from from Germans, from Slavs within her borders as well (as she finds necessary even now) employing great numbers from her tropical colonies. Her own native population is not increasing, perhaps is decreasing. Her native military spirit declines as her dependence on alien armies increases. How long would it be before Germans and occasional Slavs would have to be raised to positions of command to preserve the allegiance of her armies? Meanwhile, the tremendous spirit of nationalism in these subject races, repressed as much as may be, is at work. Then comes the final struggle between the great masses of the Slavonic powers and this Franco-Teutonic-Slavic-African combination. Can there be much doubt as to what the result would be? And is this not, in a nut-shell, what happened to the Roman Empire?

TASKER H. BLISS.

WHAT DID CALVIN WANT OF FRANCIS I?

John Calvin had expatriated himself because of the active repression of Protestantism in France after the rash posting of placards, October 17-18, 1534, on the doors of the royal quarters and elsewhere, against the Sacrifice of the Mass as idolatrous and blasphemous and against the real presence of Christ through transubstantiation.[1] Although he had retired into exile at Basel in 1535, he knew the sufferings of his fellow-believers: "Some of us are bound in chains, others are beaten with rods, others are led about in mockery, others are proscribed, others escape by flight, all of us are straightened, subject to dire execrations, lacerated with maledictions; we are treated in most unworthy ways.'" As the result of this repression, he noted that, in France, Protestantism "has been buried and is concealed as ignoble," and its "poor little Church has been either cut off by cruel killings or dispersed by exiles or overwhelmed with threats and terrors," so that no one dares to champion its cause.[3] Yet the need of a plea in its behalf seemed more than pressing to Calvin who claimed that the bloody sentences were pronounced by prejudiced judges on the mere indictment of the cause, that Protestism had been condemned by the three estates of Parliament unheard, that the mind of the King and of his people had not only been alienated from Protestants, but also inflamed against them by calumnies which accused them of being seditious, of plotting the overthrow of all government and law, and of making religion a cloak for malice.[4] In fact, French diplomacy in Germany thus justified hostility to French Protestantism,[5] while some of its opponents in France are charged by Calvin with seizing upon these calumnies in order to keep up the furious call for the extermination of French Protestantism on land and sea by prison, pro-

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[1] KIDD, *Documents of the Continental Reformation*, pp. 528-532; cf. CALVINUS, *Opera Omia*, ed. Baum, Cuntiz et Reuss, X. 42-44; Gesner to Bullinger, ec. 27, 1534.

[2] CALVINUS, *Op. omn.* I, p. 13.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 10 sq.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 23; cf. HERMINJARD, *Correspondence des réformateurs dans les pays de langue française*, III, 250-254 for Francis I to the Estates of the Empire, Feb. 1, 1535.

scription, and fire.[6] What escape was there for the French Protestants from this policy of repression? This was the problem that faced John Calvin which he attempted to solve in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* although he had at first drafted the work as a simple handbook of instruction in the elements of Reformed Religion.[7]

Private men, according to Calvin, have only a right to petition magsitrates for a redress of their legitimate grievances, as these are constituted to moderate the pleasure of kings.[8] He held, in fact, that the three Estates in Parliament had been appointed by God's ordinance as guardians of the people's liberty, who cannot, therefore, connive, without nefarious perfidy, at the ferocious license of kings in the oppression of the people.[9] Despite this teaching, Calvin prefixed, to the *Institutes,* a letter addressed directly to Francis I himself to gain a hearing of the cause by the King. In this, he adroitly ignored the royal decree of Coucy, which, in response to German Protestant pressure, had offered, July 16, 1535, amnesty to all who had been imprisoned, proscribed, or exiled because of heresy, if they appeared, within six months, before the Bishop or his officials, or before the Inquisitor or his vicar, there to abjure their heresy and to promise to live thereafter and die as faithful Catholics. [10] For Calvin contemplated no surrender on the part of French Protestantism, as he identified it with "the teaching...of the living God and of His Christ", which, exalted over all the glory of the world, must stand unconquered over all power."[11] Hostility to French Protestantism must, therefore, give way, even on the part of King Francis I. How was this to be accomplished?

The most simple and direct way was the conversion of the King from Catholicism to French Protestantism. In fact, Calvin's letter asks Francis I to take to heart the thought that "makes a true king: to acknowledge himself to be God's minister in the administration of his kingdom. Nor indeed is he, who does not reign so as to serve God's glory, a ruler, but a robber."

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[6] CALVINUS, *Op. omn.* I, p. 9.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 243.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 248.
[10] CALVINUS, *Op. omn.* X, pp. 55, 57-58.
[11] CALVINUS, *Op. omn.* I, p. 12.

This meant that Francis I was to rule "by God's sceptre, that is, by God's Holy Word."[12] Now, Calvin's *Institutes* demand that a Christian government have the Decalogue as a constitutional base for its laws. This is "contained in two heads, of which one simply commands the worship of God in pure faith and piety, the other the embracing of men in pure love."[13] The best commentary on this is given by Calvin himself when he writes: "For government looks not only to this, that men breathe, eat, drink, be cared for, (although it certainly embraces all these things while making it possible for men to live together), I say, it does not only look to this, but lest there arise and be spread amongst the people idolatries, sacrileges against the name of God, blasphemies against His truth, and other public offenses of religion, lest the public peace be disturbed, but that each one have safe and firm possession of his property, that men conduct harmless business amongst themselves, that finally, a public form of religion be established amongst Christians, that humanity obtain amongst men."[14] Things are jumbled together here without much logical order. Nevertheless, it is evident that, according to Calvin, the State is not only to enforce the Second, but also the First Table of the Law of God, and that according to what he considers pure faith and piety, the French Reformed Religion. For, in referring "to human government the right establishment of religion," he carefully notes: "I permit men to make laws on religion and the worship of God, when I approve a government settlement (of religion) that labors for this, that the true religion, which is contained in God's Law, be not violated and defiled openly and by public sacrileges with impunity."[15] If the government of Francis I was to do all this, it became necessary

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 11 sq.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 237.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 230.
[15] *Ibid.* In regard to excommunicates, Calvin, while admitting the Church's prohibition of familiar intercourse with them, prescribes every effort to effect their return to membership of the Church, whether it be "by exhortation and doctrine or clemency and gentleness or prayers to God." Then he adds incidentally: "Nor are those only to be treated thus, but Turks also and Sarracens, besides the other enemies of the true religion. So far are we from having to approve the methods by which many hitherto have worked to lead them to our faith, when they interdict them water and fire and the common elements, when they deny them all offices of humanity, when they persecute them with sword and arms." *Ibid.*, p. 77.

to change the religious convictions of the King so as to attain the establishment of the Reformed Religion and the suppression of the Catholic Church in France. Consequently, the bulk of Calvin's letter and work is devoted to undermining the King's Catholic Faith and to establishing the claims of the Reformed Religion as the only legitimate form of Christianity.

In his letter, Calvin did his best to shake the King's confidence in the arguments advanced by Catholic adversaries against the Reformed Teaching, which they represented as a corruption of God' Word: "They call our doctrine new and lately born; they censure it as doubtful and uncertain; they ask by what miracles it is confirmed; they enquire whether it is right for it to stand against the consent of so many Fathers and most ancient suctom; they urge us to confess as schismatic what makes an attack on the Church, or that the Church was meanwhile dead to many centuries, by whom nothing of the kind was heard; finally, they say that there is no need of many arguments, as it can be judged by its fruits, inasmuch as it has given birth to such a great multitude of sects, to such a great license for vices."[36] As Catholics also appeal to tradition as a rule of faith, Calvin, in his rejoinder, not only labored to convince the King that the Reformed Faith admitted what it considered good in the Fathers, but that Catholics went beyond patristic teaching in their pomp of worship, fasts, monastic institutions, celibacy of the clergy, images, real presence in the Blessed Sacrament, communion in one kind, in their whole Canon Law and Speculative Theology.[37] He had already tried to prejudice the King's mind against these Catholic adversaries by countercharges: "With ease they permit themselves and others not to know, to neglect, to despise the true religion that is given by the Scriptures and ought to have obtained amongst all; and they think it matters little what each person holds or does not hold of God and Christ, provided he submit his mind to the Church's judgment by implicit faith. Nor are they much afflicted if God's glory happen to be defiled by *manifest blasphemies*. Why do they fight with so much fierceness and bitterness for the Mass, for purgatory, for pilgrimages, and for trifles of that kind, except to deny that piety will be safe without,

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 17-19.

so to speak, the most explicit faith in these, whereas, however, they do not prove any of them to be from the Word of God? Why, except that God is their belly, religion their kitchen? If these are taken away, they not only believe that they will not be Christians, but that they will not even be men. For, although some gorge themselves in splendid banquets and others feed upon poor little crusts, all, however, live from the same pot, which would not only grow cold, but wholly freeze up, without these resources. As every one of them is most solicitous for the belly, so he is the keenest fighter for his faith. Finally, all to the last man are set upon this, either to keep their kingdom safe or their belly filled. None give sthe least proof of sincere zeal."[18] Here Calvin's summary of the Catholic case against the Reformed Doctrine presents it as much more dignified and objective than his own tirade against the Catholic Church, and so he seemed to be destined to defeat his own purpose with King Francis I. However, all this was but to prepare the royal mind for the *Institutes of the Christian Religion.*

In these, Calvin warmly advocates, at considerable length, the Reformed Doctrine on Law (the Ten Commandments), Faith (the Apostles' Creed), Prayer, (the Our Father), Sacraments (Baptism and the Lord's Supper), Christian Liberty, Church Authority, and Civil Government; and all this, indeed, as if based on God's Word, although he has to defend his interpretation of it repeatedly as being according to the analogy of the faith." He puts it thus technically, meaning in his heart the Reformed Religion. Now, it must be confessed that his treatise certainly clears the Reformed Faith of the charges that it is antinomain and anarchistic. He also does not spare excesses in Protestantism, especially in Anabaptism, which he attributes to the activities of Satan to discredit the Protestant cause.[20] At the same time, however, he seizes every opportunity he can create to vilify the Catholic Church and Faith, especially in its ministry of Pope, Bishops, Priests, and Religious, and what is most significant in the light of his doctrine on the functions of the State in matters of religion, he labors to make out cases of blasphemy, of sacril-

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 124; p. 12; p. 60 etc.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 23 sq.; cf. p. 50-52; p. 47; p. 196; p. 204; p. 228 sq.; etc. etc.

ege, and of idolatry against Catholic Theology and Catholic Practice. Thus, image worship of Catholics is made idolatry in the treatment of his Second Commandment,[21] which by "diabolic fraud" was fused with the First Commandment in the Catholic Church "so that the Commandment, so carefully prohibiting idolatries, might imperceptibly fall out of the minds of men;" the Catholic use of the Eucharist as the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and as the Blessed Sacrament is said to be "lousy with all kinds of impiety, idolatry, sacrilege;"[22] Catholic teaching on justification, in all its ramifications of the light of nature, free will, merit, good works, works of satisfaction and supererogation, indulgences, purgatory, etc., is represented as simply a tissue of blasphemies and sacrileges without number against God's grace, against Christ's death upon the cross, etc.; [23] this naturally includes a most bitter denunciation of the whole discipline of Catholic penance, which was intended to lead, especially, to the abolition of auricular confession, discredited, he wrote, "today by infinite fornications, adulteries, incests, panderisms;" [24] finally, the Catholic sacramental system is branded as "sacrilegious audacity" in a special chapter on false sacraments as far as Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Extreme Unction and Matrimony are concerned,[25] and even Baptism and the Eucharist are pictured as polluted amongst Catholics. Despite his gentle breeding in the house of the noble Montmor family and at the universities of Paris, Orleans, and Bourges, Calvin did not hesitate to write: "Vestrum oleum non minus unius stercoris facimus sive in baptismo sive in confirmatione." [26] This is a bit of dirty invective, worthy of Martin Luther himself, from whom, in fact, Calvin drew the bulk of his theology except as to the Eucharist, although he prudently avoided the shocking paradoxes or "kakadoxes" into which the German Reformer often delighted to throw his New Learning, at the risk of its reputation. While Calvin put such things as chrism in Baptism under the head of human inventions that were divinely prohibited in the things of God, he himself

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 33 sq.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 136; cf. also p. 125; 132.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 14; 30; 46 sq.; 51 sq.; 55; 72; 81 sqq.; 96; 99; 113; 168-175.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 161.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 142 sqq.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

actually and confessedly went beyond what was contained in the letter of God's Word, although he pleaded that it was only in the interest of good order. For instance, he decided it to be more satisfactory for the magistrates or the Senate or some elders, after consulting with some churchmen of distinguished faith and probity, to appoint the ministers of religion instead of the people; yet he thought that "the princes and free cities, who had piety at heart, could make better provision for the matter and for the time."[27] The philosophy of this is patent. If Francis I was converted to this piety, France would be cleared, at one stroke, of the whole mass of those whom Calvin pilloried as "sacrificers, fornicators, adulterers, self-abusers, tonsured and shaven crowns, oiled wearers of linen, blundering pigs, insane ministers of Satan, furious antichrists," etc.[28] Their places would then be taken by the ministers of God's pure Word, the Reformed Religion.

If Francis I refused to become a convert to the Reformed Faith and thus continued to rule his kingdom without "God's sceptre, that is, His Holy Word", Calvin's letter threatened the King with adversity, finally here upon earth, as God "the Father constituted Christ King, who shall have dominion from sea to sea and from the rivers to the ends of the world; and he shall indeed thus rule with his iron and brazen strength, with golden and silver splendour, so as to break into pieces, not otherwise than potter's vessels, the whole earth, when struck by only the rod of His mouth, as the prophets have foretold the magnificence of His kingdom (Dan. 2, Is. 11, Ps. 2)"[29] This threat was not strong enough, if Francis I continued the policy of repression against the French Protestants, even if he only connived at their chains, torture, and death by fire, and so he was boldly informed towards the end of the same letter: "As sheep, we shall indeed be reduced to extremity; nevertheless, so as to possess our souls in patience; and we will await the strong hand of the Lord, which doubtless will appear in time and stretch itself out armed both to deliver the poor from affliction and to take vengeance on the despisers."[30]

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[27] *Ibid.*, p. 188.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 13; 40; 131 sq.; 135; 163; 165; 182; 187; etc.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

The *Institutes* make clear that this means a divine deliverance of France from the King either by a God-appointed liberator or by another nation's intervention for other purposes, but guided to the desired end in God's providence. Calvin cited precedents for both from Old Testament times. Thus, on the one hand, God freed the people of Israel from the tyranny of Pharao through Moses, from the violence of Chusan, king of Syria, through Othniel; from other enslavements He restored them to liberty through others who were either kings or judges. Thus, on the other hand, God curbed and punished the insolence of the Egyptians through the Syrians, the pride of Tyre through the Egyptians, the ferocity of Babylon through the Medes and Persians, the ingratitude of Juda and Israel through the Babylonians. From all this Calvin concluded significantly: "Although these are thought to be deeds of men, yet God carried out His work through them, when he broke the bloody sceptres of insolent kings into pieces and overthrow intolerable tyrannies. *Let princes hear and fear.*"[31] While awaiting divine deliverance either the one way or the other, Protestants of France are exhorted by Calvin to give obedience to the King in everything but the matter of religion, despite the greatness of the danger that threatens this constancy at present from the fact "that kings take it very ill to be defied. Their wrath is a messenger of death, says Solomon (Prov. 16). Since, however, there has been pronounced this edict by the heavenly preacher Peter (Acts 4): God is to be obeyed rather than men, let us console ourselves with this thought, to give the obedience the Lord demands rather than to turn away from piety, no matter what we suffer."[32]

To sum up, Calvin's letter and work thus disclose only two ways by which he thought that the hostility of Francis 1 to French Protestantism would give way. They are either the conversion of the King from Catholicism to the Reformed Faith or the divine deliverance of France from the King. The first was evidently what he really desired and worked for; the second was what he threatened in case the repression of Protestantism continued in France. Both ways are sketched by John Calvin so as to result in the establishment of the Reformed Faith and the sup-

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 247.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 248.

pression of the Catholic Religion in France by the power of the State. Nevertheless, the Reverend A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., in the *Cambridge Modern History*, writes of the "noble enthusiasm for freedom" that Calvin evidenced on this occasion. He writes this explicitly of the prefatory letter, but, by implication, he affirms the same of the *Institutes*. The plain truth is that Calvin "does not implore toleration as a concession, but claims freedom as a right" for himself and his fellow-believers alone, to the exclusion especially of the tremendous majority of the Frenchmen of his time, who were Catholics. With this addition, the last words, also quoted from the *Cambridge Modern History*, stand as historic truth, but the addition is needsd to change what is false into truth.

F. J. ZWIERLEIN, *D.Sc., M.H.*,
Professor of Church History,
St. Bernard's Seminary,
Rochester, N. Y.

MISCELLANY

INCUNABULA IN AMERICAN LIBRARIES.

The first complete catalogue of all Incunabula or books printed before the year 1501 which are preserved at present in libraries of the United States and Canada was published in 1919 by the New York Public Library under the title: *Census of Fifteenth Century Books owned in America.* It is a credit to American bibliography and the result of the combined labor of the foremost American scholars during twenty years. The number of copies discovered surpassed all anticipations.

The editor, Mr. G. P. Winship, states in the Preface that over 13,200 copies of more that 6,640 titles or editions of Incunabula are listed in the Census. A careful count on my part yielded the exact figures of 13,568 copies and 7,037 titles. By eliminating 20 double entres of copies and 521 double entries of titles we have a sum total of 13,548 distince copies and 6,516 distinct titles which represent a little more than one thousandth part of the original output of copies and one-sixth part of the number of original titles or distinct editions.

Figures put forth by different bibliographers are generally not comparable. Different volumes and separate parts of a large work are set down now as one title and then as many, just as the individual bibliographer sees fit. On the other hand, several distinct works accidentally compressed into one cover by the binder are counted often as no more than one copy. Accordingly the figures furnished by various bibliographers regarding the same object are approximately true, but rarely mathematically exact.

Making allowance for a certain degree of looseness in our comparisons we state that the American collection of 13,548 Incunabula forms no more than two and one-fourth per cent of the sum total of Incunabula which are still extant all over the world, and nine and one-third per cent of the number of Incunabula preserved in Germany. The State Library at Munich alone treasures more than 21,000 Incunabula and copies of over 10,000 different editions, which is fifty per cent more than all American libraries combined.

The Census lists 38 copies whose present whereabouts are not known. Most of these entries are taken from the records of auction sales. These Incunabula which have disappeared from the ken of professional bibliographers after the sales are not lost, but are merely waiting to be traced in American private homes. However, 85 other copies from the Duncan Campbell Collection which are recorded in the Census are irretrievably lost. These books had been deposited in the New York State Library at Albany and were all destroyed by fire during the great conflagration of the Capitol in 1911. Accordingly, these 85 copies which are not in existence any longer have to be subtracted from the total of 13,548, so that actually

only 13,463 Incunabula are found in America. It is estimated that there are at present no less than one thousand Fifteenth Century books hidden in American book-cases, mostly belonging to private persons. But there are also a number of cases, where librarians of public libraries failed to send in lists of copies preserved in their collections, so that they could not be registered in the Census.

The notes of ownership refer, excepting the 386 copies which cannot be localized, to the period of some twenty years ago. Nearly all of these were then housed in the larger public libraries and are still preserved in these places. Many of the copies in private hands have since changed hands and many more have come from Europe to the American libraries. Nevertheless even in its present form, the Census is an indispensable guide to investigators showing where these widely scattered Incunabula, of which a large proportion are in places where one would not expect to look for them, may be consulted.

The entries of titles are followed by the enumeration of the respective copies which are in most cases only one or two copies to one title or edition. The highest number of distinct copies to the same title or edition is recorded for the famous *Liber Chronicarum* by Hartmann Schedel, printed at Nûrnberg in 1493. No less than 80 distinct copies of this "most beautiful book printed in the Fifteenth Century" are preserved in 70 different libraries of America and Canada. The second highest number, sixteen copies, is recorded for the *Opuscula S. Hieronymi*, printed at Augsburg about the year 1473. This collection of works contains the first edition in print of the *Following of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis. Some of the sixteen copies preserved in sixteen different American libraries are incomplete lacking, one or more of the parts composing this work. The Latin Bible published by Froben at Basel on October 27, 1495, takes the third place with twelve copies dispersed in eleven different libraries.

The Incunabula indexed in the Census are scattered among 169 public libraries and 246 private collections, as far as copies can be localized. By far the greater portion is safely treasured in the larger libraries, never to change hands. A tabulated list of these collections of American libraries yields the following figures in decreasing gradation. The Free Library of Philadelphia takes the lead with 525 Incunabula, then follow New York Public Library with 344 copies, the Union Theological Seminary at New York with 336 copies, the Harvard University Library with 257 the Cornell University Library with 205, the Watkinson Library at Hartford, Conn., with 141, the Columbia University Library with 136, the College of Physicians at Philadelphia with 123, the General Theological Seminary at New York with 104, the Princeton University Library with 103, and 159 public libraries with less than one hundred copies. Yet all these collections are outranked by the private collections of the late Henry Walters of Baltimore consisting of 1257 different copies and the John Boyd Thacher Collection, now in the custody of the Library of Congress at Washington, numbering 840 different copies.

The collections of Incunabula preserved in Catholic Libraries are ex-

tremely small, forming no more than about eight per cent of the total listed in the Census.

A number of copies are preserved in a rather battered condition. The Census does not give us a detailed description of the various defects found in certain copies. Nevertheless it records 85 copies of fragmentary nature which are only represented by rather small portions of the complete books. Besides these fragments the Census registers 248 copies of larger works which lack one or more volumes or separte parts of the complete work. The number of volumes to one copy varies from one to seven and the number of separte parts making up one copy rises to fourteen, as is also the case with the various collections of different works which are either bound together or separte according to the caprices of the binders.

Provenance adds a peculiar distinction to seven Incunabula which had formed once part of the libraries of six famous men, the Popes Sixtus V, Pius VI, and Leo XII, Cardinal Richelieu, King William IV, of England, and Philip Melanchthon. Certainly, all these Incunabula had passed into the possession of Catholics before the year 1510 either as objects of sale or as gifts.

Non-Catholic collectors have, indeed, paid no small tribute to the productions of the Fifteenth Century press by placing them foremost upon their book-shelves. This homage paid by American non-Catholics to the Catholic literature of Pre-Reformation times will still more frequently strike our mind, when we reflect that the sums invested in these Incunabula make a grand total of millions of dollars. Moreover, the standard works of the special branch of bibliography have been written by Protestant scholars. But for the few Catholic priests and laymen in the service of the German Republics, the study of the Incunabula would be as much monopolized to-day by non-Catholic scholars as the selling of Incunabula is monopolized by Jewish dealers.

J. M. LENHART, O.M.Cap.

THE FRATRES PONTIFICES AND THE COMMUNITY AT ALTOPASIO.

In the *American Historical Review* for October, 1923, Professor Ephraim Emerton has an article entitled *Altopascio—A Forgotten Order.* Altopascio is a little town in Tuscany situated on the river Arno between Florence and Lucca. Here in the Middle Ages was a great hospital belonging to a religious community called the Hospitallers of St. James of Altopascio. An allusion to certain "fratres de altopassu" in the *Defensor Pacis* by Marsiglio of Padua (1324) started Professor Emerton on a philological and historical investigation that resulted in the above mentioned article.

This article has a special interest for those who have read a book which appeared last year—*Indulgences as a Social Factor in the Middle Ages,* by

Dr. Nickolaus, Paulus, translated into English by J. Elliot Ross, C.S.P. By illustrations culled from authentic sources Dr. Paulus shows that the practice of granting indulgences for charitable works had a beneficial social effect in the Middle Ages. About one-half of this little book of one hundred and twenty pages is devoted to the giving of indulgences for ecclesiastical charitable objects: Church-building, Hospitals, Charitable Institutions, Works of Mercy, and Schools, together with a brief treatment of the social influence of the Truce of God and of the Crusades. The other half treats of indulgences granted for socially useful temporal objects, such as, Bridge-building, Harbors and Fortifications, Colonization Projects, Guilds, Markmen Clubs, and the Montes Pietatis, i. e., credit organizations for the financial needs of the poor. In the chapter on bridge-building, which comprises almost one-third of the book, Paulus has not a little to say about the Brothers of St. James of Altopascio because they had charge of a bridge across the Arno at Fucecchio in Tuscany.

Professor Emerton's article contains, as he himself says, "a considerable fund of information, misinformation, and conjecture" about the nature and functions of the order at Altopascio.

I shall attempt to indicate some of the chief points of agreement and of difference in the conclusions of Professor Emerton and of Dr. Paulus (1) regarding orders devoted to bridge-building, and (2) regarding the history, nature and functions of the community of Altopascio.

1. According to Paulus the so-called "fratres pontifices" who appeared in southern France during the twelfth century were in no way genuine religious orders; they were merely brotherhoods or corporations with a religious basis. Only later did these brotherhoods develop into religious orders, but neither they nor their contemporaries use the appelation "fratres pontifices." Hence Paulus does not say that there were orders established for the work of bridge-building, but merely that some bridge-building lay corporations developed into religious communities. Paulus bases his conclusion on what he calls "a very worth while essay" published in 1875 by a French investigator, L. Burguier-Roure, and on L. Lallemend's *Histoire de la Charité* published at Paris is 1906. Bruguier-Roure cites as an example of the oldest French "Bridge Brothers" those of Bonpas, who at first bore a worldly character and later took vows. (Paulus, pp. 78-80).

Emerton's opinion is that there never was such a thing as a general order of *Fratres Pontifices*. Tradition dies hard. Its tenacity here is due to the popular legend of St. Benezet, the reputed founder of a pontifical brotherhood at Avignon in 1177. Emerton seems to doubt even the existence of St. Benezet. Paulus does not, but he tries to disentangle from legend what is certain about him. Emerton quotes with approval a little treatise by Henri Gregoire (1818) who is inclined to doubt the existence of the *fratres pontifices*, and also M. F. Lefort, a French engineer, who in 1878 expressed his option that the Benezet legend appeared a century after the alleged fact, but who still, rather inconsistently it seems, protests his belief in the sanctity of St. Benezet. In view of the paucity

and hesitancy of these voices seeming to question the existence of St. Benezet one finds it hard to understand Professor Emerton's willingness to reject the whole story of this "typical saintly figure." (*American Historical Review*, Oct. 1923, pp. 19-22).

2. That the Hospitallers of St. James of Altopascio were founded about the middle of the eleventh century both Paulus and Emerton agree, following the authority of Helyot, Heimbucher, Kehr, and Giovanni Lami in his *Deliciae Eruditorum*. Emerton finds the earliest reference to the community at Altopascio in a Bull of Innocent III, dated 1198, confirming gifts made by Bishops of Lucca to the Altopascians in the third quarter of the eleventh century.

Emerton and Paulus likewise agree to the fact that although the community at Altopascio had charge of the bridge at Fucecchio, bridge-building was not its chief function. Emerton gives some information and speculation about the organization and functions of the Altopascians. Originally they followed the Rule of St. Augustine, which, in 1239, with the approval of Gregory IX, they in some way adapted to the Rule of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. From a study of the Altopascian Rule, both in the Italian and in the Latin text, which was obtained from the National Archives at Paris, Emerton derives some interesting conclusions regarding the organization of the community. His opinion is that the Altopascians were primarily a "lay" order, but that in each house a certain number of the brethren were ordained to conduct the regular services of the hospital church. The Order was composed of *Fratres*, sometimes called *Knights*, who directed the *Servitors*, persons inferior to the friars and serving for pay. The *fratres*, who seem later to be called *chevaliers*, were the governing, property holding, and executive element of the community. Although at a later period the members were frequently referred to as the "Knights of Altopascio," they were not a military order in any strict sense of the word. Their principal work was the conducting of hospitals for the care of the sick, the unfortunate, and of travellers. For the organized care of the sick they had, Emerton declares, "regulations showing an enlightened conception of the needs of the sick that would do credit to any modern institution."

As to the date of the suppression of the Altopascians there is disagreement. Emerton thinks that the order was suppressed "as far as formal legislation could do it" in 1459 by Pius II, who combined the community with the order of Bethlehemites, a new military order created to do for the Dardanelles and the adjacent islands the kind of service which the *Knights of Rhodes* were doing for the African coast. Later references to the order are due, Emerton believes, to the persistence of ancient titles and the difficulty of carrying out the papal decree. The order of St. Mary of Bethlehem was established, he thinks, but soon disappeared.

According to Paulus, Pius II wished to suppress the Altopascians in 1459 intending to combine them with the proposed order of Bethlehemites. But the latter order was never founded, and the community at Altopascio continued to exist until 1587, when it was suppressed by Sixtus V. As

authorities here Paulus (p. 73) cites H. PRUTZ, *Rüstungen zum Turkenkrieg*, in the *Siztungsberichten der bayerishen Akademie der Wissenschften*. Philosophische und historische Klasse, 1912; J. KEHR, *Regesta Romanorum Pontificum, Italia Pontificia*, III, 470, 1908; and HELYOT, *Histoire des Ordres Religieux, II*, 278, Paris, 1714.

C. H. M.

THE FALSE DECRETALS.

False documents have always been in the Church, but the classic age of falsifications was the ninth century, and among the classic falsifiers the most classic was this Pseudo-Isidore. In the middle of the ninth century, there appeared four spurious collections of canons: the Capitularies of Benedict the Deacon, the Capitularies of Angilramus (Bishop of Metz), the Canons of Isaac of Langres, and the Decretals of Isidore. The compiler of the last named forgery, called himself Isidorus Mercator in the opening preface to his collection. For a long time it was falsely attributed to St. Isidore Hispalensis, the well-known Bishop of Seville (636), but not rightly so, since these first appeared in France about 850, and not in Spain or Italy. Although everyone nowadays admits these letters to be huge forgeries, we must not lose sight of the fact that they passed for genuine during the Middle Ages, and influenced not a little the later collections of Canon Law. As there is no end to the books and articles on this subject, it is our purpose here to glean some general notions from the text itself, consider briefly the condition of the times in which it was written, the purpose the author had in view, and the influence it had upon the mind of the Middle Ages.

The False Decretals were the last "chronological" collection of canons. Since then they have all been "systematic." These Decretals are divided into three parts. After the preface came three apocryphal epistles, and the order of celebrating a council. The *first part* contains 50 Canons of the Apostles, taken from the Dionysian Collection, and 60 spurious epistles of the Roman Pontiffs from Clement 1 (90) to Melchiades (314), and a few spurious documents.

The *second part* contains the authentic canons of the Eastern, African, Gallican, and Spanish councils from Nice (325) to the second council of Seville (619) which form the first part of the Collectio Hispana. Then follow the forged Donation of Constantine, and some personal notes on the primitive church and the council of Nice.

The *third part* continues the decretals from Sylvester (314) to Gregory II (715). Other letters from the Collectio Hispana, some of which are genuine.

The greatest number of falsifications is found in the first and third part. Of the 60 decretals in the first part, 58 are spurious. The remain-

ing two exist in another collection. Very few interpolations are found in the second part, but there are 45 false decretals in the third division.

Although the author of the false decretals was beyond doubt a most learned and shrewd cannonist, yet we can readily discover the forgery from a closer study of the text. Isidore has popes of the first three centuries, writing in frankish latin of the ninth century, on medieval conditions in the Church and State, besides quoting documents of the fourth and fifth century. Then later popes up to Gregory 1 (604) use documents of the seventh, eighth and ninth century; for example, Pope Victor (190) writes to Theophilus of Alexandria, who lived in the fourth century, on the Paschal controversy of the second century. Likewise in these decretals Isidore causes popes who lived before St. Jerome to quote the Vulgate.

Let us now consider the purpose the author had in view. Despite his own statement in the preface it is certain that the compiler did not write as a serious and painstaking canonist. In the preface he says: "Compellor a multus tam episcopis quam reliquis servis Dei canonum sententias colligere et uno in volumine redigere, et de multis unum facere." Fournier in his *Etudes sur les fausses Decretales* is of the opinion that the compiler's object must be sought in the apocryphal decretals, which were his chief concern. What Pseudo-Isidore lays stress upon is the protection of bishops from secular oposition, and a reformation of the Church. Some commentators say that Isidore's purpose was the increase of pontifical power. Yet others claim that his primary purpose was purely local, i. e., against Metropolitans and the Chorepiscopi. However, there is nothing certain.

We will now consider the conditions of affairs in France during this period, and this perhaps may shed some light upon the purpose and object of the Decretals. Fournier, quoting Hinschus says: "The reformation of the church in France was absolutely necessary, there being need of a strong defense of the Church against many usurpers and invaders." The kings of the earth saw in the Church a means of exploiting their worldly ambitions, and not their spiritual welfare. Bishops were unjustly accused and dispossessed of their sees by temporal powers. Princes seized the property and patrimony of the dispossessed bishops, and were always excited by avarice and cupidity.

Tardiff in his *Histoire des sources du Droit Canonique* (Paris 1887) says: "The defense of the rights of dispossessed bishops was the principal end on which converge all the author's theories and most of his texts, which he assembled or fabricates." Isidore insists upon the privileges of bishops, and lays down the principle that laity should not accuse clerics, much less bishops. The "chorepiscopi" were a continual source of disturbance to Isidore, and they find no favor in his sight. Rebuking them time and time again, he questions their episcopal powers. Since the bishops of that day were deeply immersed in political questions, they were forced to neglect their spiritual duties. While they were on embassies for their Prince or King, they appointed auxiliaries, or as they are called "Chorepiscopi," who were a source of great dissension in the diocese. And

time and time again, he questions their episcopal powers. Little wonder then, that we hear the bishops clamouring later on for ecclesiastical liberty. And what could be more ideal for their purpose than these false decretals of Isidore?

There has been unending discussion regarding the date and place of composition of this forgery. Fournier says the accepted date is 850, because they were known to the clergy of the west Franks in 857, when the council of Quierzy quotes them on the immunity of church property. Then the Capitularies of Benedict the Deacon were not anterior to 847, these decretals being as it were an elder brother to the Isidorian Decretals. There is likewise no agreement among scholars as to place of composition. Since the Protestant canonists, Blondell, Richter, Theiner, and Eichhorn maintain that they were written in the interests of the popes, Rome has been assigned as its place of origin. But since Hinschius has refuted them, no scholar worthy of the name, maintains that they were written at Rome. To-day all agree that they were forged somewhere in the Frankish kingdom. Hinschus and the Ballerini brothers favor the province of Rheims. However Fournier and Duchesne hold to either Le Mans or Tours, most likely the latter. Hinschius in holding for the province of Rheims bases his claim principally upon the flourishing condition in the province of Rheims of the Chorepiscopi, the main bone of contention in the decretals of Isidore. The Archbishop of Rheims at that time was the famous Hincmar, a very strong-willed man, possessed of a most exalted idea of his position, authority and rights. He refused to recognize the ordinations of his predecessor, Archbishop Ebbo, who had been deposed by Charles the Bald. (845). Hinschius believes that these decretals could be attributed to Wulfatus, a disciple of Ebbo, and the validity of whose ordination, Hincmar refused to admit. Fournier agrees with Hinschius in this, that if Rheims was the place of composition, then Wulfatus was the author. However, the theory of Fournier, that of Tours, seems to us more tenable. The condition of the Church in Brittany, he maintains, points clearly to the reforms aimed at by the Pseudo-Isidore. The Duke Nomenoe had in 845 defeated Charles the Bald, thus securing the independence of Brittany. He then drove out four Frankish bishops from their Sees, and had them condemned by a Council. It is certain that many of the forged decretals aim at remedying conditions similar to those in Brittany.

The Isidorian Decretals were accepted as genuine until the invention of the printing press. Although they had been pointed out several times, the first to publicly question their validity were the two cardinals, John Torquemada (d. 1468) and Nicholas Cusanus (d. 1464). After the invention of printing, Erasmus and several others pointed out the forgery in 1524. The principal reason of the continued controversy is the fact that non-Catholic theologians impugn certain documents from the collection against the Primacy of the Pope. However Fournier has ably refuted them in his *Etudes sur les fausses decretales*. Besides they were not necessary, since the power of the pope is proven from other sources, from

Holy Scripture and Tradition. This doctrine was in the conscience of the people long before these said decretals. Such a doctrine could not be introduced suddenly, without great excitement and clamour. This forgery was certainly influential in the following collections but as Maroto says in his *Institutiones Juris Canonici* they did not change the code either fundamentally or substantially. It has been asserted time and time again that Pope Nicholas 1 (867) used these false decretals to strengthen the Papal claims. But he never mentions them. In his response to Photius, during the Eastern Schism, Nicholas quotes not the Isidorian but the Dionysian collection, and so in other disputes. Even when he quotes a genuine text found in the Isidorian collection, we find him invariably ascribing it to the real author. As regards the trials of bishops, Isidore introduced nothing new when he insisted upon "Causae Majores" being referred to the Pope. These were always recognized and are found in the decretals of Dionysius Exiguus.

U. B.

CHRONICLE

His Excellency, Baron de Cartier, the Belgian Ambassador, has graciously favored the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW with a copy of an address delivered on November 23, at Minneapolis, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of *The Northwestern Miller*. It is a most interesting document and it recalls the activities of Belgian missionary-explorers in the North West:

It is with great pleasure to find myself here again in your hospitable city among so many of my old friends. I am specially glad to be able to come on this occasion to celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the *Northwestern Miller* and to do honor to my good friend, Mr. William C. Edgar, who has been the guiding spirit of that great paper from its early infancy and who has made it the useful, interesting and influential paper that it is to-day and that it has been for so many years. With such a wide and interesting field as its subject and with a manager of Mr. Edgar's business ability, literary attainments and genial personality, the *Northwestern Miller* could not help being a great success. The season for your annual National Thanksgiving is approaching, but I think that we have reason, on the occasion of this "Golden Jubilee," to hold this special meeting of thanksgiving for the benefits conferred by the *Northwestern Miller* and by Mr. Edgar.

We Belgians owe a special debt of gratitude to Mr. Edgar. It was he who, in the early days of the war out of the generosity of his great heart, and on his own initiative, organized the "Millers' Belgian Relief" movement, chartered a special ship, the "South Point," and sent a whole cargo of flour to save the women and children of Belgium from starvation. Not only that, but he himself went over there and gave his personal attention to the distribution of these food-supplies. There is an old proverb, "He that gives quickly, gives twice." Mr. Edgar not only gave twice, for he gave quickly, but he gave thrice, for he gave himself. But that was not all. He kept on giving. It was he who began the organization of State-wide Belgian Relief committees throughout the surrounding grain States of the North West. These committees were eventually welded together in that magnificent organization, the Commission for Relief in Belgium, under the guidance of that incomparable organizer, Mr. Herbert Hoover. Had it not been for Mr. Hoover's genius in organization, his indomitable determination, his untiring energy and his generous heart, Belgium would indeed be a desolate land to-day.

Our Belgian people will never forget the ardent appeals made in their behalf by the *Northwestern Miller* and by *The Bellman*, nor shall we forget the generosity with which the millers of the North West, and in fact the whole of your community, responded to those appeals. The memory of the generosity of the Grain Belt will ever be vivid in our Belgian hearts. You gave us food, you gave us sympathy, you gave us courage.

I may add that you even gave us shirts. For, after the flour had been distributed to the starving, the flour-sacks were made into shirts to clothe the children, and many of our youngsters were to

be seen running about labeled "Millers' Relief" or "Pillsbury's Best."

Later on, when your country entered the war, you sent your gallant lads of the North West to aid our troops in the great cause. I know that Minnesota alone sent nearly one hundred and twenty-five thousand men. After sending us the product of your fields you reversed the classic example of Cincinnatus and beat your plow-shares into swords, or perhaps it would be a more exact simile to say that you turned your threshing machines into "tanks." The comradeship of arms is another bond of union between your people and ours.

While voicing my feelings of gratitude for all that you have done for my country, I want to add that it is a great satisfaction to know that the sympathetic movement for Belgian relief, which sprang up spontaneously in your generous hearts, and which came to such perfection under the guiding hand of Mr. Hoover, is still bearing fruit. The C. R. B. which so successfully took care of our crying needs during the occupation, has given a new scope to its activities and is now ministering in a most welcome and efficient way to some of our spiritual wants.

The majority of C. R. B. men in Belgium during the war were graduates of American universities, including a large group of young Americans who had studied at Oxford as Rhodes Scholars. Even in the midst of the clash of arms these men conceived the idea of eventually perpetrating their friendship for Belgium by organizing in some way an exchange of students between our two countries. After the Armistice a way was found to work this idea and funds were made available for the purpose. Again Mr. Hoover blazed the trail. In August 1919 he went to Brussels, and it was mutually agreed between him and our authorities that these funds should be devoted to the extension of higher education in Belgium and to the exchange of intellectual ideas between Belgium and America.

The organization known as the C. R. B. Educational Foundation of which I have the honor to be a Trustee, was incorporated in January 1920. Since that time the Foundation, in addition to donating considerable sums to various Belgian educational institutions, has provided for exchange Fellowships. At the present time over one hundred Belgian students have already received, or are now receiving, a year or more of graduate study in American universities, and some sixty Americans during these last three years, have studied in Belgian universities. You will be interested to know that two of our most promising young surgeons are now pursuing their studies at the celebrated Mayo Clinic at Rochester, Minnesota.

The C. R. B. Educational Foundation has recently inaugurated also a system of exchange Professorships and has, moreover, initiated considerable work in child-health education in Belgium, besides other activities too numerous to go into in detail on this occasion.

The general object of the Foundation is to build a permanent bridge of fine and high relationship between the two countries and to become a permanent force for good in both communities.

The success which has crowned the efforts of the Foundation in the first three years of its existence gives augury of a useful and brilliant future.

And if I am talking at such length of that institution which may be considered, as it were, as your grand-child, it is because I

know with what interested eye grandparents follow the career of their children's children.

It is claimed, on what seems good authority, that this part of your great country is one in which we Belgians have a special interest. The first white man who set foot on the site of Minneapolis was a Belgian—Father Hennepin. It is interesting to me to see that you still retain so many memorials of that early Belgian explorer, and that one of your principal avenues as well as the county in which your city is situated bear his name. Father Hennepin was born at Ath in my own Province of Hainault, and I feel particularly grateful to my compatriot for having discovered Minneapolis.

It seems that Father Hennepin was exploring the river a bit south of here when some of the aboriginal dwellers of this place captured him and brought him by force to this delectable spot. I am told, and readily believe, that these worthy Indians thought the time had come for Minneapolis to be discovered. Which goes to show that even the primitive inhabitants of this place had the proper appreciation of a good thing.

Father Hennepin gave them their first "write-up" in his book entited *A New Discovery of a Large Country in America*, which contains the first description of this wonderful district. The book made a great impression in those days, but its usefulness as an advertising medium has now been superceded by its successor, the *Northwestern Miller*, which has a larger circulation and broadcasts more accurate information.

One of the things which made the strongest impression on Father Hennepin was your Falls of St. Anthony. The good priest seems to have had a special eye for waterfalls, or special luck in finding them. It was he who drew the first picture of Niagara and it was he who wrote the first description of the Falls of St. Anthony. To him it was a vision of beauty and of grandeur, but he little knew that one day the latent power of these waters at Minneapolis would be harnessed to turn the wheels of industry and to produce flour to feed the starving people of his native Province of Hainault. To these Falls Father Hennepin gave the name which they still bear—the name of his own Patron Saint, Saint Anthony of Padua.

But that, besides your work during the war, is by no means the only connection between our two peoples. In Father Hennepin's footsteps followed many other Belgian priests, Belgian explorers, and finally, Belgian settlers. When we Belgians once find a good thing we follow it up and stick to it. Settlers of Belgian origin constitute only a small portion of the population of the United States to-day, but among the largest settlements of Belgians in this country are those in this region near the head-waters of the Mississippi. Some are across the river in Mr. Edgar's native State of Wisconsin: some have followed his example and have come to Minnesota; some are further down the Mississippi, and some have followed Horace Greely's celebrated injunction to "go West" and have settled at various points between here and the Coast.

Many of our Belgian missionary-priests have helped to "blaze the trail" in your great North West and even in Alaska. One of the greatest of all was Father De Smet, born at Termonde in East Flanders in 1801, and who began his great missionary work among the American Indians just one hundred years ago, having been admitted to the full order of priesthood at St. Louis on October 10th, 1823. This year the town of Termonde celebrated the cen-

tenary of her renowned son, and Father De Smet's statue was unveiled in the presence of the American Ambassador to Belgium, the Honorable Henry P. Fletcher. It was from St. Louis, as a base, that Father De Smet carried on his campaign extended over the whole of the region from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains—and even to the regions beyond—a somewhat large "parish."

During the 47 years of his mission in America he is said to have travelled 250,000 miles—and that was done in the days when the principal means of transportation were small boats and that trustworthy old steed, "Shank's Mare." Throughout this great region of the West and North West, Father De Smet was a great power for good, in Christianizing, educating, and pacifying the Indian Tribes. He won the respect and confidence of both the White Man and the Red Skin. and frequently acted as intermediary between the American authorities and the various Indian Tribes, notably with the Sioux, the same tribe who had captured his predecessor, Father Hennepin, two centuries earlier and who some sixty years ago caused such ravages in the State of Minnesota. The utility of Father De Smet's efforts was borne witness to both by the Government at Washington and by the American officers who were at that time in command of your troops west of the Mississippi. An eloquent tribute to this good Belgian missionary priest was paid by your late Chief Magistrate, President Harding, during his last and fatal journey into the North West, when he took occasion, in a speech, to extol the merits of Father De Smet and his co-workers of every Christian creed whose devoted efforts had contributed so materially to the opening up and development of the whole district from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Coast.

Father De Smet now sleeps his last sleep in a little cemetery near St. Louis surrounded by other Belgian priests who had been his fellow workers in the "Winning of the West." The history of his life recently written by Father Laveille, is prefaced by a letter from Archbishop Ireland bearing witness to his good works.

This brings me back to the memory of your great Archbishop of St. Paul, Monsignor Ireland—a great American and a great Prelate of the Church. I well remember the eloquent and glowing tribute which he paid to my country, in July 1917 on the occasion of the visit to your Twin Cities of the Belgian Special Mission who came to thank the people of your State for their aid in the World War. His Grace, the late Archbishop of St. Paul, is another link in the chain of our mutual friendship.

Among the citizens of your commonwealth, none was better known to us nor more highy esteemed than the late Mr. James J. Hill. He was an old friend. He had been the host of our King years ago when, as Prince Albert, he first visited the United States. That visit to the North West was an inspiration to the young Prince and he has always retained the most vivid recollection of your richly endowed and industrious region, and of its hospitable inhabitants. For Mr. Hill, he had the highest personal regard, and he will never forget the friendly hospitality of Mr. Hill and of his charming family.

It was Mr. Hill's genius and untiring energy that unlocked the treasures of your great North West. His name stands among the foremost of the "Makers of America." The railroads which he built are not only paths of commerce but "Highways of Progress." As he himself said, "Next after the Christian religion and the public school, the railroad has been the largest contributing factor to the welfare and happiness of the people of this section." Not only that, but the steel rail has been an important factor in binding

your wide country, commercially, socially and politically, into that one solid, powerful and magnificent entity that it is to-day.

The development of the North West through transportation facilities is an example which we Belgians are now trying to follow. Not in our little native homeland on the North Sea, but in our great African colony, the Belgian Congo. If I am correctly informed Belgium itelf has more railroads per square miles than any country in the world, namely about 44 miles of railway per 100 square miles of territory. But in the Belgian Congo the situation is quite different. The Kingdom of Belgium is only about one-eighth the size of the State of Minnesota and is well provided with waterways as well as with railroads. But our African Colony, the Belgian Congo, covers an area about the size of all of the United States east of the Mississippi River, and although possessing splendid natural waterways, has, as yet, inadequate railway facilities. This is a situation which we are actively engaged in correcting. We are going to follow your example and do as you did in developing the great North West. We are going to build "Highways of Progress" through the forests, so that settlers may freely come in, bringing with them commerce, industry, education, religion, and all the blessings of civilization to the heart of "Darkest Africa." To connect up the railroads which we now have, we have recently surveyed and have already begun construction of a new central line, running east and west, and covering a distance about as far as from Minneapolis to New York.

Moreover—and again following the American example—we are now engaged in electrifying some of our existing railroads. The Congo River, with its many cataracts, affords almost unlimited water-power. We are going to harness it and utilize it just as you have done here at St. Anthony's Falls.

Then, too, in the matter of river navigation we are taking a leaf out of your book. The Congo River is very much like the Mississippi—long and wide and in some places very shallow. We have studied your Mississippi boats from the type made famous by "Mark Twain" down to your present day steamer, and we are trying to profit by your experience. One of our newest and most satisfactory steamers on the Congo River was built in the United States. And I want to take this opportunity to express my thanks to our host's son, Mr. Randolph Edgar, for the extremely useful information which he has been kind enough to give our Colonial officials in regard to navigation on the Mississippi.

The Belgian Congo which we are thus engaged in opening up by following your methods, is like your Northwest, one of the world's richest treasure houses. Besides the usual tropical products, such as rubber, palm-oil, copra, ivory, and copal, we have enormous deposits of very high grade copper, now producing about 50,000 tons per annum. We have the largest deposit of high grade radium that has thus far been discovered. This radium ore is brought to Belgium and treated in a newly erected plant at Colen, near Antwerp, and I am glad to say that we have been able to reduce the cost of radium to nearly half its former price so that now it is more available for the cure of cancer and other ills of the human race.

Among the very valuable resources of the Congo are the diamond fields. These are being operated by a company in which Americans are largely interested both as stockholders and as practical mining engineers. This company is producing between 200,000 and 300,000 carats of diamonds annually.

We have also discovered and are now actually mining considerable quantities of coal—one of the minerals long sought and ardently hoped for in the African Continent. Also, we are raising cotton, and although the present production is comparatively small, our experts express the opinion that within ten years the Belgian Congo will raise enough cotton to supply all the cotton mills of Belgium.

We are also growing wheat in our Colony, and a small flour-mill has recently been erected near Elizabethville. This may sound like competition with your own great industry. But do not be alarmed gentlemen. It will probably be many years before the flour-mills of the Congo can rival those of Minneapolis—and I have not yet heard of any project to publish a "Congo Miller" to rival Mr. Edgar's publication.

And—"Yes, we *have* Bananas." Some of my compatriots have been contemplating setting up a mill in the Congo for manufacturing banana flour, and have sought information in regard to American machinery for that purpose.

But I will not abuse your patience with further details about our African Colony. Fifty years ago our wise and far-seeing King Leopold the second, realized the potentalities of Central Africa. On his own initiative he acquired possession of this vast domain, and after expending infinite care and thought on its development, gave it as a rich heritage to the Belgian people. Let me add that in developing the Congo we find much inspiration in what you have done in developing the Great North West.

I fear that you will think my talk bears some resemblance to the Mississippi and Congo Rivers—very long, somewhat meandering, and in many places very shallow. However, it will not flow on forever. I have wanted to remind you that the friendship of Belgium and America is of very ancient date and to recall to your recollection some of the days of "Auld Lang Syne." For our part, the more we see of you the better we like you. We trust that the friendship which began so long ago and which has been so confirmed and strengthened during recent years, may continue from generation to generation and ever increase more and more.

Among those agencies which have contributed to bring our two countries into closer communion the *Northwestern Miller* has played a conspicuous part, and on its Fiftieth Anniversary which we celebrate to-day, I am glad to have the opportunity to express my gratitude and to extend my heartest wishes for a prosperous and successful future.

I am specially glad to have this occasion to wish long life and happiness to its guiding spirit, my dear and valued friend, Mr. William C. Edgar.

The regular autumn meeting of the Executive Council of the American Catholic Historical Association was held on Tuesday, November 13, 1923, at St. Patrick's Rectory, Washington, D. C.

The President of the Association, Dr. Charles Hallan McCarthy, Professor of American History, Catholic University, Washington, D. C., was Chairman, and there were present Dr. Gaillard Hunt, of the State Department, First Vice-President; Dr. Leo F. Stock, of the Catholic University, Second Vice-President; Right Reverend Monsignor Thomas, D.D.,

Rector of St. Patrick's Church, Washington, Treasurer; Miss Frances Brawner, Archivist; Reverend Dr. Edwin Ryan, and Reverend Peter Guilday, the Secretaries of the Association.

Dr. Guilday's report on the activities of the Association during the past year was received with much pleasure by the members present. Its plans for the reception and entertainment of the Association at the annual meeting were read. The annual meeting, which was held at Columbus, December 26 to 29, was the most successful in the history of the Society. The proceedings will be published in our next issue.

In addition to the regular sessions two Luncheon Conferences were held: A Conference on the *Historical Objections against the Church*, presided over by Rev. Bertrand L. Conway, C.S.P., New York City.

A Conference on the *Historical Publications of Catholic Truth Societies*, presided over by Rev. Dr. McGinnis of the I. C. T. S., Brooklyn, N. Y.

The following papers were read:

1. Rev. John Graham, St. Patrick's Rectory, Washington, D. C. (*St. Charles Borromeo and the Training of Diocesan Clergy*).
2. Rev. Herman Fischer, Josephinum, Columbus. (*The Belief in the Continued Existence of the Roman Empire of the West During the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*).
3. Rev. Alfred Kauffmann, S.J., Creighton University (*Ernest Renan—The Man*).
4. Rev. M. G. Rupp, S.T.L., St. Joseph, Mo. (*Hugo Grotius and his Place in the History of International Peace*).
5. Rev. John Rager, S.T.L., Shelbyville, Ind. (*The Venerable Cardinal Bellarmine's Defense of Popular Government in the Sixteenth Century*).
6. Rev. Dr. Thomas Coakley, *Pittsburgh*. (*The Historical Contribution of the Catholic Church to World Progress*).
7. Rev. Richard Quinlan, S.T.L., Boston, Mass. (*The Influence of Christian Ideals Upon Early Medieval Legislation*).
8. Rev. Francis Betten, *S.J., Cleveland, Ohio*. (*An Alleged Champion of the Sphericity of the Earth in the Eighth Century*).
9. Rev. Dr. John Keating Cartwright, Washington, D. C. (*The Significance of Investitures*).
10. Rev. Dr. Edwin Ryan, Washington, D. C. (*Dr. John Colet—An Educator of Boys*).
11. Rev. Lawrence Mulhane, Mt. Vernon, Ohio. (*General William Stark Rosecrans*).
12. Dr. John Knipfing, Ohio State University, Columbus. (*Religious Tolerance During the Reign of Constantine the Great*).
13. Dr. Leo F. Miller, Columbus, Ohio. (*Formula of Baptism in the Early Church*).

Among evidences of interest in the work of the Association may be mentioned the founding of the Historical Club at the Catholic University on January, 1923, which is composed of the professors and instructors

in history at the University. It meets every two weeks, and since some of the members are at the same time on the editorial staff of the *Catholic Historical Review*, there is kept alive all through the year a close touch upon historical activities, Catholic and non-Catholic, throughout the world.

REV. DR. JOHN TALBOT SMITH.

The death of Rev. Dr. John Talbot Smith at Dobbs Ferry in September 24, leaves a huge void in Catholic literary and historical circles. The *Catholic Historical Review* has lost a valued friend.

The funeral obsequies held on September 27 made Dobbs Ferry for a brief period a cosmopolitan center when numerous distinguished visitors came to pay a last tribute to an ardent defender of the national Catholic heritage in the United States.

Dr. Smith was an outstanding figure in historic literary circles for fully three decades, having begun his public literary activities as editor of *The Catholic Review*, of New York. During his early editorial years he was brought into contact with two of the most gifted workers in the cause of Catholic education, Brother Justin and Brother Azarias. The claims set forth for Brother Azarias in the biography of this noted educator published by Doctor Smith may be regarded as an exhibit of his own range of thought:

> The volumes which Brother Azarias left ..... are works of sincerity, power, beauty, rich in the merits of clear thinking, graceful style, and original method. The fruit of his studies in early English literature was a careful essay on old English thought; his *Philosophy of Literature* drew a eulogy from Brownson; the treatment given to Aristotle by the Schoolmen was ably explained in a volume entitled *Aristotle and the Schools*. Four volumes of essays on educational, religious, literary, and philosophical subjects bear witness to the study of twenty years. .... His accuracy is admirable, for he left few authorities unread. His spirituality is high and comprehensible; his books and his personality became interesting to the American world.

Father Smith's literary activities were enormous, covering various fields and almost endless topics.

The future historian will be indebted to him for the information contained in his three volumes dealing with the growth of the Church in New York and Ogdensburg. His contribution to the study of seminary life under American conditions caused no small stir in ecclesiastical circles. Bishop McQuaid gave it a cordial welcome. It was finally published in a revised edition, with a preface by the founder of St. Bernard's Seminary at Rochester, N. Y., under the title of *The Training of a Priest*. On the

occasion of his annual visit to New York City, Archbishop Ireland gave assurance that he had approved the book for circulation among his seminarians. The memory of this endorsement made it a labor of love for Father Smith to write a noble tribute to the great prelate, in the *Dublin Review of January*, 1921.

REV. THOMAS C. MIDDLETON.

A link with the past, and a keen and industrious worker for the preservation of Catholic America's historical records, disappears, in the death on November 19, of the Rev. Thomas C. Middleton, O.S.A.

Father Middleton was born on March 30, 1843, at Chestnut Hill. His parents were members of the Society of Friends and of old Pennsylvania stock. When twelve years old, together with his parents and five sisters, he was received into the Catholic Church. The ceremony of baptism was performed at "Monticello," the family home, which four years later, in 1858, was deeded to the Sisters of St. Joseph and became their first convent and Motherhouse in the diocese. It still remains as part of the present Mt. St. Mary's Convent, Chestnut Hill. He received his early education in private schools and at Villanova College which he entered in 1854. Four years later he went to Italy and at Tolentino, received the habit of the Order as a Novice. He completed his studies in Rome and was ordained priest there September 24, 1864. Returning the following year to the United States, he was located at Villanova, where he remained until his death, occupying at various times the most responsible offices in the community. In 1874 he was made Prior of the Monastery. In 1876 he was appointed President of Villanova College, succeeding Father Galberry who had been appointed Bishop of Hartford, and in 1881 was named regent of studies, an office he continued to hold for many years.

For thirty-six years he served as Associate Provincial and Secretary of the Province. He was the first President of the *American Catholic Historical Society*, acting in that capacity from 1884 to 1890. He likewise served for a number of years as a member and as chairman of the committee on historical research. He was the author of several books as well as of numerous pamphlets on historical questions. He was a frequent contributor to Catholic magazines and was a recognized authority on American Catholic historical matters. His life as a priest and a religious was characterized by great simplicity and regularity. As a writer and scholar he was well known for his patient research, devotion to detail, restraint of style and severe exactness.

Dr. William R. Thayer, president of the American Historical Association during the years 1918 and 1919, died at Cambridge, Mass., on September 7, at the age of sixty-four. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1881. He was for twenty-three years editor of the *Harvard Graduates Magazine*, and for nine years an overseer of the university. His chief fame as an historian rested upon *The Dawn of Italian Independence* (1893), and his *Life and Times of Cavour* (1911), which won him Italian royal decorations. He also prepared the *Life and Letters of John Hay* (1915). Mr. Thayer was a writer of great talent, and did useful service to the historical profession.

Professor Louis Leger of the Collègé de France died in Paris on May 2, aged eighty years. He was for many years the recognized authority in France on Slavic History, in which field he published numerous monographs. His best known work is his *Histoire d' Autriche-Hongrie* (1879), which has passed through many editions and often been translated.

Benjamin Sulte, of Ottawa, dean of French-Canadian historical writers, died August 6, at the age of nearly eighty-two. He was for more than thirty years in the public service of the Dominion, and at one time president of the Royal Society of Canada. He was born at Three Rivers, in the Province of Quebec. Taken from school at the death of his father, who perished at sea, Sulte pushed his way through various employments into journalism and into the service of the government as translator. His most solid prose work is the *Histoire des Canadiens-Français* (8 vols., 1883-84), which was followed by *Histoire de St. François du Lac* (1886) and *Pages d' histoire du Canada* (1891). Sulte is also well known for his songs in *Les Laurentiennes* (1870) and *Les chants nouveaux* (1880). He also wrote *La langue française au Canada* (1898), *Histoire de Québec* (1908), and a number of other publications which appeared in reviews.

Professor C. W. Alvord has resigned his professorship in history at the University of Minnesota, and will reside abroad for the next few years, engaged in research.

Professor H. Grégoire of the University of Brussels has issued the first part of *Recueil des Inscriptions Grecques Chrétiennes d' Asie Mineure* (Paris, Leroux, 1922. Pp. iii + 128). The work is published under the auspices of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

A convenient contribution to the history of early Christian art has been furnished by F. Grossi Gondi in *I Monumenti Christiani Iconografici ed Architettonici dei Sei Primi Secoli* (Rome: Università Gregoriana, 1933. Pp. xiv + 464).

At the time of the meeting in Brussels of the Union Académique Internationale, April 16-18, its committee on the proposed dictionary of me-

dieval (VI-X. cent) Latin held a session; it was resolved to publish periodically, at Paris, under the editorial care of the committee a *Bulletin Du Cange*, devoted to the interests of the proposed lexicon and to contributions in its field. It is expected that the first number of the *Bulletin* will appear before the next meeting of the committee, which will be held at Paris in January, 1924. The Italian portion of the work on the dictionary has been entrusted to the committee already organized by the Istituto Veneto.

Recent issues in the series *Les Saints* (Paris, Gabalda) are a Life of the Founder of the Premonstratensian Order, *Saint Norbert*, by E. Maire; *Saint Albert de Louvain, Évêque de Liége et Martyr*, by B. del Marmol; and *Saint Bonaventure*, by E. Clop.

Among recent contributions to the ecclesiastical and religious history of the medieval period are *Die Teilnehmer an den Konzilien des Mittelalters* (Weimar, Böhlau, 1922, by G. Tangl; *La Flagellation dans L' Histoire et les Tortures au Moyen Age* (Paris, Impr. et Libr. Artistique et Edition Parisienne Réunies, 1922), by T. Cudgel.

The American School of Archaeology at Athens, according to Frank G. Carpenter, has the largest and best private Greek library in the world. It contains 25,000 volumes and more than 20,000 other items in prints, manuscripts and photographs. It was collected at a cost of more than $250,000 by Mr. Gennadius, the former Minister from Greece to London, who presented it to the American School of Archaeology. The school is now erecting a building to house it on a site provided by the Greek Government. Mr. Carpenter is now in Greece gathering material for his World Travel Series published by Doubleday, Page & Co.

A newly discovered bookplate, the oldest known in America, has just been added to the collection of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester. It bears the name of John Cotton and the date 1674, three years earlier than the plate of William Brattle of Cambridge, hitherto considered to be the oldest. There is no attempt at artistic embelishment on the plate —merely the words, "John Cotton, his Book, Anno Dom. 1674," printed on a slip of paper with a type border.

An undisturbed tomb dating from the time of Christ has been discovered in the Valley of Kedron, near Jerusalem, according to word recently received from Dr. W. F. Albright, director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, Dr. Alan Montgomery, president of the school, announced that the tomb contained more than a score of ossuaries. Dr. Albright wrote that a dozen of these bore the names and genealogies of the occupants. All the dead apparently belonged to one family, which flourished about the time of Christ. The slowly increasing number of such inscription groups is already beginning to provide valuable material for the nomenclature and eventually for the history of the New Testament period.

Dr. Albright also reported the finding of a sarcophagus, said to be the finest yet unearthed in Palestine.

The most reliable date proposed is the second century after Christ, the letter said. The beautiful sarcophagus is distinctly pre-classical and cannot be compared with the Alexander sarcophagus, despite its undoubted excellency in workmanship.

Preliminary to undertaking the excavations Dr. Albright and his party conducted a survey of Palestine. They first visited Khibet—Tibneth, identified with Timnath-Serah as the home of Joshua, successor of Moses in the leadership of Israel. They also identified the modern town of Ain Seredath with Zeredah, the home of Jereboam I, one of the early kings of Israel.

The seventeenth Duke of Alba, a grandnephew of the late Empress Eugenie and owner of the magnificent old Liria Palace in Madrid, is presenting to the Library of Congress, at Washington, to the Public Library of New York and to the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York, copies of an altogether remarkable and well-nigh priceless work. Just five hundred years ago, Grand Rabbi Moses Arragel completed, under the patronage of Don Luis de Guzman, grand master of the Ancient Order of Calatrava, the task of translating the Hebrew Bible into Castilian. The codex which preserves the rabbi's labors has belonged for 235 years to the ducal family of Alba, on which are seen the Castilian text and the rabbi's extensive marginal notes, together with nearly 300 miniatures in colors and gold by cotemporary artists of Toledo. The Duke of Alba has caused a wonderful photographic reproduction of this great manuscript to be made in Spain and is presenting copies thereof to the American institutions mentioned above, as well as to the British Museum in London, the National Library of France, to the Ambrosian Library of Milan, which was formerly under the charge of Mgr. Ratti, now Pope Pius XI, and to the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Twenty-five lectures on the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas are included at London University for the second consecutive season as part of the winter university extension course. Friar Vincent McNabb, former Provincial of the English Dominicans, has been chosen as university lecturer for this course. Diplomas will be issued to successful students.

Almost in the very heart of the financial district of the City of London there have been uncovered the remains of a convent that was founded in the 13th century. This was the great and important convent of St. Helen Bishopsgate, one of the Benedictine nunneries of London.

Below these 13th century remains there have been found traces of a still older church, that is believed to be of the Saxon Period.

Colonel Harvey, United States Ambassador to Great Britain, recently unveiled in the Sussex village of Ringmer, a signpost in connection with which there are certain American associations.

It was in a Ringmer village that two great Americans sought their wives. As the inscription on the signpost tells, the first wife of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, was Gulielma Springett, daughter of Sir William Springett, a great Sussex squire and land-owner. John Harvard also found a wife at Ringmer, in Ann Sadler, the daughter of the Protestant vicar of the parish.

The signpost bears three coats of arms; that in the centre, bearing the Sacred Pallium and the archiepiscopal cross, recalling old days, when the See of Canterbury was in communion with Rome.

The Catholic University of America has received a library bequeathed to it by the late Bishop Burke, of St. Joseph, Mo. The books are 3,000 in number and contain many of the best modern historical works in the English language. The university has also received from the estate of Bishop Burke a valuable collection of ancient papal coins and also many secular coins of the eighteenth century, among them some that are extremely rare. Bishop Burke has previously given to the university his fine Dante library, which now reposes in the main library and comprises one of the most treasured portions of the university's collection.

The library has also received a reproduction of the famous *Jefferson* Bible, published by Thomas Jefferson in 1819, as *The Life and Morals of Jesus Christ*. The volume was printed in 1904 by the Government Printing Office for distribution among the members of congress. It gives the Greek, Latin, French and English texts of the New Testament said to have been used by Jefferson in his compilation.

So successful has been the response to the appeal sent out by the Vatican for the missionary exhibit which will be held there next year that Pope Pius XI, has decided to add to it an art exhibition, which it is said, will be the greatest display of ecclesiastical art ever assembled in either medieval or modern times.

The Pope is an art critic and connoisseur of established repute. During his office as Prefect of the Ambrosian Collection in Milan he was a constant contributor to art magazines. In the Middle Ages and the Rennaissance the Church inspired, or churchmen contributed, a large part of Italian art.

The Bishop of Salford, England, the Right Rev. L. C. Casartelli, during his recent stay in Italy came across two interesting cases of a combination of theology with medical science. The rector magnificus of the new Catholic University of Milan is Father Gedmelli, O.F.M., who is one of the most eminent theologians as well as biologists of Italy, and who before entering religion was an able medical practitioner. Likewise the Father General of the Order of Charity, or Rosminians, was before becoming a religious a distinguished medical man.

At Viterbo the Bishop visited in the cathedral the tomb of Pope John XXI., who in his earlier life had been a famous physician, a professor of medicine in the University of Paris, and the Pope's special physician. Later on he became a priest and rose through the successive steps of the Hierarchy until he was elected Pope. It is recorded that he retained his love for science during his pontificate and built for himself a special apartment for study and research in the Papal palace of Viterbo. Unfortunately, the roof of his study fell in and killed him in 1277.

Murillo's famous painting of The Immaculate Conception, now in the Prado Galleries in Madrid, is to be reproduced in full size mosaic and repose in the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, now under construction at Catholic University. The painting is to be the gift of Pope Benedict XV, and is the first papal gift of its kind to come to America.

The Right Rev. Rector of the University received a letter from M. Borgongini Duca, secretary of the sacred congregation of extraordinary ecclesiastical affairs at the Vatican which said: "Good progress is being made on the mosaic promised by the holy father to the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception at Washington." The holy father has personally, selected the Immaculate Conception of Murillo in the Prado Gallery at Madrid.

There is in the same gallery another Murillo with a greater number of angels, but the painting selected by the Holy Father is the best, both for the attitude of the blessed virgin and the expression of her countenance.

A. Nelson Gay, in the *New York Time's Book Review*, Vol. 18, writing from Rome says:

Italians love history and understand how to write it, which is not unnatural, as they themselves have made so much and recorded it with a continuity of so many centuries—their historical taste doubtless derives in part from the pride of race. The reviews and magazines of Italy, not only those of the more solid type, the *Nuova Antologia* and *Rivista d' Italia*, but also the more popular, such as *La Lettura*, that are sold on the railway news stands, contain a much larger proportion of valuable historical articles than is to be found in corresponding American periodicals; and these articles usually take precedence in tables of contents. Italy looks backward more earnestly than we, that she may go forward securely; she was taught to do this by Cicero: "Historia est magistra vitae."

To Padre Juan Garte belongs the credit and honor of being the first irrigation engineer to design and construct permanent works for the conservation and delivery of water in California, according to the city of San Diego's hydraulic engineer, H. N. Savage, who notes this fact in an article recently appearing in *California Southland*. This pioneer irrigation project dates back approximately to 1769, the year Mission San Diego de

Alcalà was founded, and antedates by more than half a century any similar work in this state. The system included a strong masonry dam, eight to ten feet hgh, and several miles of conduit lined with hand-made cement slabs. Considerable portions of the dam are in a good state of preservation and still in place, having withstood the winter floods of almost a century and a half, are mute testimony as to the quality of the work. Also remnants of conduits are to be seen, as shown in the accompanying photographs.

Engineer Savage says in part:

> The Mission Fathers assigned to San Diego with their remarkable comprehensive knowledge and abilities, began the construction of a masonry dam across the San Diego River at the outlet of a natural reservoir basin, located about ten miles up the river from the Bay of San Diego. The dam was evidently intended for diversion and was obviously located where, by the smallest relative expenditure, water could be impounded from the rivers flood discharges, and continue to be available throughout the summer season for domestic and irrigation use on the lands about the Mission.
>
> The missionaries burned the native lime-rock and produced a hydraulic cement which they used in constructing both the dam and the conduit, the latter five miles in length from the dam to the site of the old Mission, where the water was delivered for the many hundred neophytes' domestic requirements and for the irrigation of the gardens and vineyards and olive groves.

Current History Magazine began with the November issue a new method of recording contemporary history. The magazine has formed a Board of Associates, consisting of twelve distinguished American historians, chosen from the Department of History of twelve leading American universities, to record the history of the world, month by month, by regions. These regions are classified by considerations of political unity as well as geographical propinquity. The board as organized is as follows:

	University.	Region.
Chairman: Albert Bushnell Hart.	Harvard.	The United States and Canada
Harry T. Collins.....	Pennsylvania	South America
Arthur Lyon Cross	Michigan	The British Empire
Richard Heath Dabney	Virginia	Minor European States
William Stearns Davis	Minnesota.....	France and Belgium
Charles W. Hackett	Texas	Mexico and Central America
Albert Howe Lybyer	Illinois	Turkey and the Near East
Frederick A. Ogg	Wisconsin..	Eastern Europe and Balkans
Alexander Petrunkevitch	Yale	Russia and the Baltic States
William R. Shepherd	Columbia	Germany and Austria
Lily Ross Taylor	Vassar	Italy
Payson J. Treat	Stanford	The Far East and Africa

The magazine, in taking this important step, announces that by this arrangement national and international events of the moment will thus be recorded and interpreted by specialists who are pre-eminently qualified for the task by reason of close familiarity with the political, social and economic conditions in their respective regions. They have wide international equipment and scholarly attainments.

The first contributions by the Board of Associates appeared in the November issue of *Current History*, occupying some forty pages. It is objective, concrete history, covering all parts of the world, and interpreted by trained scholars, who possess a background of historical knowledge which well qualifies them to measure the value of contemporary events.

This new venture in presenting history has produced a favorable reaction throughout the country among scholars, journalists and men and women who are interested in educational progress.

Reviewing Dr. Bertram Windle's latest volume, *The Romans in Britain*, in the *New York Times*, Charles De Kay says:

> It is among the humors of historical and national comment that the modern Europeans, and some Americans, are prone to allusions in a somewhat superior air to the mixture of nations in America. Yet Germany, France, Spain and the British Islands rose out of a hodgepodge of people very different one from another in speech, looks and character. The Romans added to Great Britain a curious assortment of people by settling old soldiers as colonists, these soldiers coming from all the Mediterranean shores as well as from the Rhine Valley, Belgium, Holland and the Baltic. When to these we add Angles, Saxons and Jutes, Norse and Danes, Normans and Brittany folk—the word Anglo-Saxon seems a misnomer unless it be used as a makeshift to cover all the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland since the Conquest. It would be hard to imagine a more complete mixture.

The prophecy of Monsignor Paredis, first Bishop of Roermond after the restoration of the Dutch Hierarchy in 1853, the day-dream, for twenty years past, of two million Holland Catholics, has been fulfilled in Nymegen by the opening of a Catholic university. It is the seventeenth canonically erected since the secularization by Protestantism and Humanism of the specifically Catholic Universities of the Middle Ages. Belgium set the pace in 1834 by the reopening of the former Catholic University of Louvain. It was followed in succession by Ireland, France, Canada, Asia Minor, the United States, Switzerland, Chili, Argentina, Poland and Italy.

At the inaugural ceremonies Catholic Holland was represented by all its Bishops, by the Superiors of the Religious Orders, by delegates from all the dioceses, from the Catholic Colleges and scientific associations and by members of both Houses of Parliament; and cultured Protestant Holland, by delegates from the existing universities, state, province and city officials.

The new university begins with a select corps of professors. It com-

prises Dominican theologians, Jesuit philosophers and litterati, a Franciscan friar, a Carmelite monk, secular priests and a pleiad of German, Belgian, Austrian, and French savants—all men of repute in their respective scientific specialties.

The Centennial of the birth of Francis Parkman (born September 16, 1823) was duly honored in his Native State and in many other sections of the American Republic. Admirers, (and they are numerous) have written most sympathetically and eulogistically of Parkman, and F. Emerson Andrews so writes in the *New York Times' Book Review* of date, September 16. He particularly emphasizes Parkman's "accuracy" and "graphic portrayal of historic scenes" and cites in proof a portion of the preface to *Fontenac*. Not all American writers, however, are so laudatory. Dr. Alvord says in the *Nation:*

> Parkman's histories seem very sketchy, his understanding of past events very superficial. Before him as he worked lay hundreds of problems which he never saw and other hundreds of which he touched only the fringes. A few years ago my own investigations forced me to read all his volumes in rapid succession, on an average one every two days. It was, I acknowledge, a severe test, and therefore my immediate reaction was not trustworthy. Still I give it for what it is worth. After the test was completed, my thought was: 'This is not history, this is romance, pageantry, story writing...' The enthusiastic study of Western American history of last years has revealed many gaps in the narrative of the discovery and occupation of the Mississippi Valley as related by Parkman; yet the discovery of new documents and the more careful examination of known ones do not explain satisfactorily the spotted thinness of his story. This must be attributed in part to his New Englandism,.... and to the fact that Parkman knew intimately two short periods of Western history, that of the explorations and business enterprise of La Salle and that of the Conspiracy of Pontiac, the Alpha and Omega of his whole work. Of what falls between these his knowledge was not extensive or comprehensive.

A more severe indictment is contained in the following:

> Les historiens n' ont pas l'habitude de faire leur propre psychologie. Quelque näiveté qu' il puisse y avoir à l' àvouer l' on nous permettra de dire que la bienveillance—trait le plus saillant de notre nature—nous a guidé dans tout le cours de notre étude. Chaque fois que cela a été possible sans compromettre trop gravement la vérité, il nous a été doux de céder à ce sentiment. Nous nous sommes gradé, encore que cela eût été facile, de suspecter la sincérité de bien des historiens; nous avons même pousse l' indulgence jusqu' à prêter à tel ou tel des intentions honnêtes quand nos convictions nous disaient tout le contraire, pensant qu' il

valait mieux nous taire ou pécher excès de bonté que de risquer de tomber dans une sévérité outrée. Pourtant devant les efforts systématiques, bien caractérisés et sans cesse renouvelés que certaine école a tentés, pour fausser l' histoire, le silence de notre part eût été une faute; notre conscience nous faisait un devoir de dévoiler ces partiques hontenses er d' en stigmatiser les auteurs.

C' est du compilateur des Archives de la Nouvelle-Ecosse et de M. Parkman que nous voulons ici parler.

Nous regrettons d' avoir eu à traiter avec rigueur ces deux derniers historiens, mais l' évidence avec laquelle nous est apparue leur mauviase foi nous en faisait une obligation. (*Acadie* by RICHARD, new edition, ed. by HENRI D' ARLES. Vol. I, pp. 12, 13).

BOOK REVIEWS

Controversies Between Royal Governors and Their Assemblies in the Northern American Colonies. By John F. Burns, O.S.A. Privately printed, Boston, 1923, pp. 447.

Father Burns states that the purpose of his investigation was "to afford more definite and detailed information concerning the principal controversies, in order more accurately to calculate their influence" on the final opposition to England in the revolutionary period. The reviewer need not stress the genuine importance of the contests which form the subject of the study. That importance was so great, and the temptation to overstress that of any topic which one has painstakingly investigated is also so great, that the restrained appraisal which Father Burns finally makes speaks much for his sense of proportion and sanity of historical judgment. He concludes that these contests "Cannot be listed among the direct, immediate causes of the Revolution. Their part was rather secondary and underlying, though not without extreme, even critical, importance." This importance, he finds, lay in the training of the colonial mind in opposition and in the winning by the colonists,—point by point and invariably,—of their own way against the authority of crown and parliament.

The four colonies chosen for examination are Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, and New Jersey, although the last three receive scanter treatment than the first, which fills 211 pages as against 171 for the others. To some extent this descending scale of interest is also reflected in the source material used. In the study of Massachusetts the author has not only gone exhaustively over all the journals of the assembly but into certain manuscript material as well, such as the Bernard letters. For the New Jersey accounts, however, he relies mainly on the prior studies of Tanner and Fisher, with some use of the published Morris Papers.

The treatment is encyclopedic, and almost no occasion of controversy fails to receive some notice. The book is a mine of information as to its topic, and will form a valuable adjunct to

Greene's *Colonial Governor* for the study of the executive in the colonial system. It appears to be thoroughly accurate as to recorded fact, except for a rare slip, such as speaking of Massachusetts' leader as *Elijah* instead of *Elisha* Cooke. There is occasional confusion in the foot-note references. For example, an abbreviated reference sometimes occurs before the use of the full title, (cf. Wood references, Pp. 120, 122); or reference is made simply to the name of an author, several of whose works are cited, without particular indication as to which one is intended, (e. g., Andrews, P. 141 and elsewhere). These, however, are minor matters, and the difficulty of attaining complete accuracy in them is realized only too well by the reviewer.

Although in this volume, the author has not dealt to any extent with the background of colonial opposition, he has shown a willingness to appraise individuals, and independence of judgment in doing so, as in his interesting notes on Governor Wentworth. Now and then the lack of background may tend to give the reader who cannot supply it for himself a somewhat inadequate if not erroneous idea as to the controversy in question. One cannot understand the acerbity of the close of Belcher's administration in Massachusetts without a knowledge of the Land Bank episode, nor can one properly value Governor Burnet, of New York, and the forces opposed to him, without a similar knowledge of the extremely sinister trade carried on by the merchants with Canada, which threatened the life of the colony, and against which the governor fought desperately. The nature of the task which Father Burns set himself and the lack of space has precluded him from developing such matters in his present work. He has, however, amply shown his ability for research and has made a genuine contribution to scholarship. It is to be hoped that the professional duties which he has now undertaken as teacher may not prevent, as so often happens, his continuing as author, and that we may have from his pen later a study of some other problem in colonial life with such broader treatment as he clearly indicates he is capable of bestowing upon it.

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS.

A History of the United States Since the Civil War. By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. In five volumes. Volume II: 1868-1872. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922.

The period covered by the second volume of Mr. Oberholtzer's History of the United States since the Civil War has also been treated by Mr. James Ford Rhodes in the sixth volume of his History of the United States since the Compromise of 1850. Both writers deal with much the same topics:—Reconstruction in the South, Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson, The Campaign of 1868, Grant as President, The Ku Klux Klan, The Alabama Claims. While Mr. Oberholtzer's treatment is somewhat more elaborate and more animated than that of Mr. Rhodes, and while he presents many new and interesting facts and opinions, he offers nothing which will alter the generally accepted conclusions respecting the above-mentioned subjects. It must not be inferred, however, that the present volume represents a mere repetition of the corresponding volume of Mr. Rhodes. The author has included much of distinct value which is not to be found in the earlier work. In the treatment of social life and material development Mr. Oberholtzer is, in the opinion of the reviewer, at his best. What people of half a century ago ate, what they wore, what they read, how they travelled, how they amused themselves, in short how they actually lived from day to day, are subjects that he always treats with the skill of an accomplished journalist. By laborious study of the press, he gets the feeling of the period as few writers have done, and he enables his readers to realize something of the emotion with which people of the sixties and seventies viewed the events of their time. The choicest piece of work in the present volume is Chapter XV, "To the Pacific and Beyond," in which the writer describes the growth of the west under the impetus of the railroad. It is to be hoped that in his subsequent volumes, Mr. Oberholtzer will continue to emphasize those aspects of our national life which some writers have scorned as beneath the dignity of history.

EDWARD E. CURTIS,
Wellesley College.

The Presidential Campaign of 1832. By Samuel Rhea Gammon, Jr., Ph.D. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1922.

To the student of political parties in the United States, the presidential campaign of 1832 is of distinct importance. It witnessed the earliest use of the nominating convention for the selection of presidential candidates. Prof. Gammon has made a searching and illuminating examination of the origin and early organization of the institution. He shows that the idea of a national nominating convention was suggested as early as 1822. He makes clear the significance of the first state nominating convention in Pennsylvania, which was "the germ and precedent for its successor, the national nominating convention." He analyzes the way in which the Anti-Masonic party came to make the first use in American politics of the national nominating convention. Valuable light is shed upon other features of the campaign of 1832. The author shows for example, how entirely a one-man affair the National Republican party was at this time, and how hard put it was for an issue with which to contend the election with the followers of Jackson. The view that the Democratic convention of 1832 originated solely in Jackson's resolve to foist Van Buren upon the party is attacked as mistaken. The paradox of the campaign is shown to lie in the fact that although National-Republicans and Anti-Masons had a common object, the defeat of the "Old Hero," they refused to combine when combination was possible and when it was clear that failure to combine would spell defeat.

The appendix discusses at length the origin and early use of the names National-Republican, Democratic-Republican, and Democratic.

EDWARD E. CURTIS,
Wellesley College.

Jacques Benigne Bossuet. A Study by E. K. Sanders. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1923.

For a score of years and more Miss Sanders has studied Catholic life and its leaders in seventeenth century France. It is

close on twenty years since the present writer read with deep interest her study on Fenelon, and found it an attractive introduction to a very fascinating subject. In this new volume Miss Sanders tells the story of Fenelon's mentor, antagonist and conqueror, Bossuet. Miss Sanders is not, we understand, a Catholic, but she is full of sympathy for her period and her subject; and she has compressed into comparatively brief compass the life, doings, and controversies of the Eagle of Meaux.

This greatest of French orators, and one of the greatest writers of the world, was born at Dijon September 27th, 1627. It is worth remarking that two other famous orators, St. Bernard and Lacordaire, were sons of the same *pays*. He was ordained priest in 1652, and made the head of a mission band sent to convert the Protestants of Lorraine. For some five years he remained at Metz or its vicinity, and by unremitting labour he acquired that knowledge of the Fathers of the Church and of Church History, which later he turned to such brilliant account. In 1657 he was called to Paris. He preached three consecutive Lents at the Convent of St. Thomas of Acquin, and his original eloquence caused a sensation in the capital. In 1662 he was summoned to the Louvre to preach before the king. Louis XIV, was so pleased with the preacher that he wrote to Bousset's father to congratulate him on having such a son. In 1669 he was entrusted with the funeral oration of Henrietta late Queen of England, the widow of Charles I. A year later he performed a similar service for the foregoing lady's daughter, Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans. The young princess had led a rather dissipated life, and when sudden and mysterious illness smote her, Bousset, it was, who prepared her for the end and reconciled her to God's will. Meanwhile (1670) he had been appointed preceptor to Louis XIV's son, the elder dauphin. It was a splendid post, fraught with unimaginable possibilities. And, no doubt, Bousset dreamed of training an able ruler, cultured, tactful, enterprising, no unworthy son of St. Louis himself, who should blazon his name and achievements forever on the face and annals of his country. The teacher strained every nerve to realize his dream; he wrote books for his pupil, which have charmed and inspired ten generations. But the empty dullard, on whom heaven and earth lavished their choicest gifts, could respond to nothing, and who can gauge the

fathomless disappointment, the blank despair of his teacher? The hopeless task came to an end in 1680, and the following year Bossuet was appointed bishop of Meaux.

There he devoted himself heart and soul to the duties of his pastoral office. Miss Sanders picture of the great scholar and thinker making himself all things to all men, arranging the petty difficulties of his priests, listening with unflagging patience to the wearisome complaints of scrupulants, encouraging by word and pen the straining of holy souls after perfection, is delicious. No man, who was not truly great, and who was not highly spiritual as well could have done such things or written the pages of meditation and direction that Bossuet has written. Pick up, for instance, his meditations on the Gospels, or his elevations on the mysteries. A hasty reading reveals little. But read slowly, pondered over, dwelt upon again and again, their marvellous beauty and aptness and the glow of their interior fervor grow on the reader.

Of course the great blot on Bossuet's career is his unfortunate controversy with Fenelon, where the faults and defects of these two great men stand revealed in their glaring and painful nudity. It is an episode which one tries to skim over as rapidly and as painlessly as possible. Miss Sanders seems to state the case for the combatants with justice, moderation and best of all sympathetic insight. "It was native individuality in each that brought Bossuet and Fenelon into conflict. There was not on either side a scheme rooted in long-past happenings and prompted by base motives of spite or jealousy; such legends may have been believed by their respective partisans, but they draw no support from facts. It chanced that the same events challenged them both, that they were taken unawares, and that the natural man was master before the acquired habit of self-control by which, ordinarily, they were guided assumed direction." (pp. 289-290). This quotation is an excellent and typical example of the author's style. Miss Sanders' writing is judicial and self-controlled. No purple patches appear on her somewhat drab pages. But she knows her period well and sketches it clearly, and her portraits, albeit somewhat austerely limned, stand out.

WILLIAM P. H. KITCHIN, Ph.D.

Dante the Man and the Poet. By Mary Bradford Whiting with sixteen illustrations by Ascanio Tealdi. New York: D. Appelton & Company, 1923. Pp. 190.

The author states in the preface that this work is intended for the general reader. Numerous works on Dante have been written for scholars and students, but he deserves to be known by those who have not the leisure and opportunity to study his life and writings more thoroughly, and who, nevertheless, desire to become acquainted with them. The purpose of the author is laudable indeed, and the public can be expected to welcome a work of this sort.

The book is divided into three parts: Part I, Student, Lover and Statesman; Part II, Exile and Wanderer; Part III, Poet and Seer. The writer draws biographical details from Boccaccio who is admittedly unreliable, still one must acknowledge that the selections are carefully made and the vividness of Boccaccio's descriptions augment the attractiveness of the book. Unfortunately it is not free from inaccuracies. Thus the date of the murder of Buondelmonte is given (pp. 58-59) as Easter Sunday, 1215, whereas the correct date according to ordinary reckoning is Easter Monday, April 11, 1216; 1215 would be the year according to the Florentine style. We find that the author states (p. 62) "that the names of Guelf and Ghibelline were merged for a time in those of Bianchi and Neri." Both the Bianchi and the Neri were recruited almost exclusively from the Guelf nobles, for in the year 1300 the Ghibelline faction was practically nonexistent in the city of Florence. The author seems to follow Machiavelli in ascribing the origin of the Neri and the Bianchi in Florence to a brawl which occurred on the occasion of the Calendimaggio of 1300, however, the parties already existed in Florence due to quite different causes. The reader is left under the impression that Cardinal Acquasparta left Florence owing to a difference with Dante on the very first day of his priorate. Negotiations, with Cardinal Asquasparta were not broken off during Dantes term of office which extended from the 15th of June to the 15th of August, 1300. The cardinal did not leave Florence until the end of September of the same year. The writer appears to be quite unfamiliar with Davidsohn's truly superior researches on the history of Florence.

It is evident, however, that the work was written by one deeply interested in the life and writings of the great Florentine. The author's efforts in extending the knowledge and taste for Dante's immortal creations really merit recognition. The illustrations by Ascanio Tealdi lend distinction to the volume and aid the reader in gaining a better insight into the culture and civilization of Italy in Dante's age.

J. J. ROLBIECKI, Ph.D.

Turkey, the Great Powers, and Bagdad Railway : A Study in Imperialism. By Edward Mead Earle, Ph.D.. New York: Macmillan, 1923. Pp. xiii + 364.

Much has been written about Turkey and her pre-war economic concessions to Germany, but this volume may be termed gaseous, even noxiously gaseous. Going to the sources of information, laying aside national prejudices, in short endeavoring to conform with the canons of truth, seem not to have been considered necessary when dealing either with the Turk or with the German. However, nations as well as individuals have the right to grow in order to defend themselves more effectively and to develop their resources. For both reasons Turkey needed railroads, particularly a railroad stretching across Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, connecting Constantinople with the Persian Gulf, to which railroad local lines might attach themselves. Turkey had not been able to throw her whole military weight into the Balkan wars, she had not been able to maintain order in her outlying Asiatic provinces; she was the victim of the European industrial revolution, and, with the economic subjection which this position involved, Turkey's sovereignty had become "a polite fiction—it was always a fiction if not always polite." Turkey, however, lacking the capital with which to build the necessary railroad looked abroad for aid. Great Britain and France had not given Turkey reasons to believe that they were sincere friends. Italy had taken Tripoli by main force. Austria had designs in the Balkans from which the Turk had been ousted. Germany, a new country, without a colonial record, with few Mohammedan subjects seemed to be the only European State that had surplus capital to invest and at the same time

could be trusted to build a railroad so vital to Turkey. Abdul Hamid had pondered long over the project of the Constantinople-Bagdad-Persian Gulf Railroad. Neither he nor the Germans to whom he at length gave the concessions ignored the capitalists of the other powers. British interests, for example, had been approached before the Germans were invited into Turkey but the English entrepreneurs had failed (1886-1888) to secure investors. The *Deutsche Bank* in Berlin gave foreign investors ample opportunity to co-operate in the work and to share in its profit. Only when the invitation was declined did German capital aided by *Wilhelmstrasse* proceed, but suspicion at once settled upon Germany. She had designs upon Turkish sovereignty, for every nation's course in weaker states had been to follow economic ascendency with political domination. Germany could be trusted not to conduct herself otherwise and possibly to improve their strategy. Not a few Germans opposed this venture because they believed,—the sequel showed that they were right,—that it would lead straight to foreign entanglements or, perhaps, even to war. If Germany adopted an imperial policy, she was bound to make enemies of other imperialistic nations. Only one state at a time can, without a maximum of trouble play at imperialism, as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries only one at a time could with impunity play at mercantilism. If Germany would feed her millions, keep them at work and prosperous,—then she must seek raw material and new markets. Her efforts to secure colonies had only yielded indifferent territories and islands. In Asiatic Turkey there were abundant natural resources and a population ready, as soon as the economic development of the region enabled it, to purchase German wares. Why should Germany not follow the lead of other states? Why should she not help bear, so to speak, the "white man's burden" by effecting an economic penetration of what had once been an Eden and would certainly become so again by the application of her advanced and highly efficient scientific methods?

The story of Germany in Asiatic Turkey and what followed her activities there Professor Earle, of Columbia University, essays to tell. For us to say more would deprive our reader of rare pleasure for seldom has an historian written in a more entertaining manner than has Professor Earle. The chapter titles

even contribute to the motivation: Backward Turkey Invites Economic Exploitation; Germany Has Become Interested in the Near East; The Sovereign Mortgages His Empire; Peaceful Penetration Progresses; The Bagdad Railway Becomes an Imperial Enterprise; Russia Resists and France is Uncertain; Great Britain Blocks the Way; Bargains Are Struck; and so on through the Great War when Germany lost all, but Turkey crushed to earth rises again and the struggle for the Balkan Railway is resumed with the United States unofficially represented in the fracas by the Cheser Concessions. Admirable statements of imperial methods occur here and there, for example, the needs of modern industrial states (pp. 46 ff.). Two statements made by President Wilson in June and November 1917 are met by a paragraph worth quoting (p. 292):

> In the light of all the facts, this (Wilsonian) diagnosis of the situation is incomplete, to say the least. Had President Wilson been cognizant of the contemporaneous counter-activities of the Allied Powers, he might not have been prepared to offer so simple an explanation of a many-sided problem. For it was not German imperialism alone which menaced the peace of the Near East and of the world, but *all* imperialism.

The book, finally, is to be measured by its sources and their use. That an historical work dealing with events so recent as those connected with the Bagdad Railroad can be final, of course, is to be doubted; its usefulness and trustworthiness must, consequently, be reckoned in terms of available sources used. After listing his sources—unfortunately Professor Earle does not provide a general list—we find that none of great importance has been omitted, that some of great importance not available to the public have been consulted. We can state without reserve that the substance of these sources has been honestly studied and impartially interpreted. We consider this book a valuable contribution to our knowledge of what has been going on behind the scenes in our own times; therefore, also a valuable introduction for the unwary who would go imperial ways.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN, Ph.D.,
Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.

India and Its Missions. By the Capuchin Mission Unit (C. S. M. C.), Cumberland, Md. New York: Macmillan, 1923. Pp. 291.

The writers claim for themselves no authority, but have made a thorough-going compilation of information with little pretense at catchiness of presentation. The book is an up-to-date mine of facts and figures on India's missions, in three parts: Part I, Land and People; Part II, Ecclesiastical History; Part III, Indian Missions of To-day.

To the twentieth century student who views modern world-wide Church activity the relatively few Catholics in Asia and Africa needs an explanation. Have past ages forgotten their commission? By simple statement of fact the Capuchins give the history of India missions. It quite satisfactorily explains why to-day the Church's impress is found on but two and a half of India's three hundred and fifteen million people. There are some accounts of evangelism from the first to the ninth centuries. From the ninth to the thirteenth there is nothing recorded. The travelling friars on their remarkable journeys across Asia in the twelve hundreds tell of transitory activity while Dominicans and Franciscans showed edifying zeal in the fourteenth century. The fifteenth century is again blank. Political conquerors were the occasion in the sixteenth century for an enthusiastic wave of mission interest and great bodies of apostles have labored during the years since. The record of the majority is beautiful to dwell upon but there were set-backs of many kinds, the most detestable being the Goanese Schism, a term which embraces a multitude of black details.

The establishment of the hierarchy in 1886 ushered in the present vigorous era. To-day, a Benedictine authority says, the Church is "the most highly organized body in India, the only one solid and serried mass in the midst of a vast floating crowd of warring religions, sects, and creeds." (p. 1667).

The work is proof of *missionary and historic zeal* among the Capuchin seminarians and telling evidence of the genuine good The Catholic Students' Mission Crusade is doing as an organizer for missions of the Catholic college world.

J. J. CONSIDINE.

An Introduction to Economic History. By N. S. B. Gras, Ph.D. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922. Pp. xxiv + 350.

Professor Gras, a close scholar in economic history and professor of the same in the University of Minnesota, contributes this superb *Introduction to Economic History* to the Harper's Historical Series edited by Dean Guy Stanton Ford of the same university. It is apparently presented primarily to the undergraduate and the beginner in economics, but it will be rightly appreciated only by the student who knows history or to the well-read business man who understands economic principles in the practical working. This is true because of the infinite number of historical allusions and examples which are drawn from world history, the presupposed background, and the concise summaries compelled in packing so much material in so small a volume. Good bibliographies at the end of the chapters will appeal to the college teacher of economics.

The first chapter, "Collectional Economy," describes the economic life of primitive man with some reference to their social and religious activities. The second chapter, "Cultural Nomadic History," carries the life of man into the second stage with reference to the various peoples which have passed through or are in this nomadic period. "Settled Village Economy" describes men of various races and times in this primitive communistic life, with an account of early feudalism, social classes, religious worship, markets, and relation to the rural neighboring region. "Town Economy" describes the beginnings of town life with examples the western world over but with emphasis on the mediaeval town, its charters, government, league associations, craft and merchant gilds, merchants, masters, apprentices, financiers, and cultural attainments. One might question the following in connection with charters which were usually purchased from corrupt or needy kings or over-lords: "The potentates of the Church were generally slow in granting such liberties, and accordingly in ecclesiastical towns especially at a later date, we find numerous uprisings on behalf of greater freedom" (p. 124). Then follows an account of such a rising in Cologne. Were such uprisings more usual in ecclesiastical then in secular towns? Is a revolt evidence of an oppressed people or of one so advanced that

they demand greater opportunities of growth? The space given to the superstitious merchant (p. 143) could have been used more advantageously, as well as the half-page devoted to commercialized immortality which came with the worldliness of the town (p. 164). The view of the religion running through the volume, and especially in this chapter, is rather materialistic. (P. 166).

Chapters five and six show economic life culminating in the dominating type of to-day, that is the Metropolitan Economy which is described first for England and then for the United States. These chapters will prove the most enlightening to student or business men, showing as they do the trading relations between the metropolitan city and its dependent hinterland. Facts, dates, observations, deductions, speculations crowd the pages, but are so ingeniously interwoven as to be interesting in the telling and effective in developing the author's thesis. In one of the last paragraphs curiously enough, under "cultural builders of the metropolitan era" Morgan and Rockefeller of New York will find themselves listed with Walker and Carpenter of Minneapolis.

R. J. P.

Bavaria and the Reich: The Conflict Over the Law for the Protection of the Republic. By Johannes Mattern, Ph.D. **Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.** Series XLI, No. 3. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1923. Pp. ix + 125.

Dr. Mattern's dissertation deals with the states rights question as it exists in the new German republic. We find that the national government, fearful of the activities and threats of the radicals that had led to the appalling assassinations of Erzberger and Rathenau, worried by the financial situation and the attitude of France, passed (July 1922) a "Law for the Protection of the Republic." To this law and to the machinery which it provided for its enforcement Bavaria took serious exception in the form of a counter-ordinance on the ground that it trespassed upon her reserved sovereign rights. The framers of the Weimar constitution of 1919, had, as has so often been done before, consulted with necessity by being ambiguous about matters which,

quite impossible of settlement in the more composed past, were likely to prove insuperable obstacles to union in the tense present. The constitution, thus, referred to the States as "länder," constitutionally speaking a non-descript term, and only once mentioned their Hoheitsrechte. France, which had fostered German particularist tendencies in the centuries of disunion, although thwarted by Bismarck in 1871, resumed, after the great war, her time-honored policy and so enters into the struggle for sectional sovereignty. Contemporary French courses in Germany are given greater significance by the fact that, notwithstanding both the Treaty of Versailles and the Weimar Constitution, which provided for the diplomatic representation of the German peoples among foreign states by and through the Reich, the Paris government has, in spite of the protests of the German national authorities, maintained a legation at Munich. The Reparations issue seems, indeed, to be but the visible part of the monstrous iceberg of German difficulties.

Dr. Mattern is a political scientist and is primarily interested in the legal and political aspects of the negotiations which followed between Berlin and Munich. We may well agree with him that President Ebert wisely refrained from insisting upon the legal rights of the national government—our own experience proved that the judicial decisions of the highest Federal Court were subject to an appeal to arms—and sought agreement on political grounds, even though such an agreement only postponed the solution of Germany's constitutional problem. Dr. Mattern promises us a detailed review of the question after he has visited Germany. We look forward to the publication of this work, for, if we are to judge by the excellence of his dissertation, it should be a thoroughly competent study.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN, Ph.D.

Vmerica of Yesterday, the Diary of John D. Long. Edited by Laurence S. Mayo. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1923. Pp. 250.

Mr. Long, Harvard student, teacher, lawyer, representative, Governor of Massachusetts, Congressman, and Secretary of the Navy, may not have been a great man nor a remarkable diarist;

but as a typical New Englander of the olden day, he was ever an interesting figure. At the command of an exacting father, he commenced his diary in 1848 as a child of nine years and continued with few lapses until 1915. Extracts from different sections of the manuscript volumes with the biographical connecting paragraphs by the editor make up the volume.

The first chapters of the boyhood life suggest the strange interests of a precocious lad, politics, foreign events, and desperately dull books. The district school up in Maine where a teacher received twenty cents a week per pupil and boarded around taught the economy and shrewd common sense as well as the "three R's." The Hebron Academy aroused his interest in Latin and in college, about all a preparatory school can hope to do. A long chapter of excerpts from his diaries recounts the life of Long in Harvard as a fearful candidate for admission before the examining board, his difficulty with Greek, first absence from chapel, his daily schedule, outside reading, instructors, lodgings, and triumph as a senior. Edward Everett reminded him of Webster, but less massive of head; Emerson, speaking for Kansas in 1856, he thought wretched as an orator. In 1854 during the Know-Nothing crisis, he writes with characteristic liberality: "In Boston and vicinity there is a person who styles himself the Angel Gabriel and is preaching some Millerish doctrine. He also influences the minds of low Protestants against Irish Catholics. This exasperates the latter. Some brawls have already taken place. The cross has been torn from one Roman Catholic Church. It is not right. It is not what our ancestors sought this savage land for. It is not in accordance with laws and institutions of this free country. In it all religions are tolerated. Each man may worship God as he wishes. Or he may worship none at all. I hope a stop will be put to this fool's preaching; if such results attend it." (Pp. 67-68).

As a preceptor, Long was faithful and kept a good school as students of education who peruse his diary must admit. The sketch of his career as a lawyer and politician afforded sidelights on Massachusetts politics and the foundation of the Republican Party. Early a Lincoln man, always a stout but not bitter partisan, he mounted the ladder as a representative, speaker of the legislature, campaigner, and reform Governor in opposition to

Ben Butler. Politics had a hold on him, but he confides in his diary that he is successful rather than happy as he pictures a snug house, a little world, a friend and a book. Yet, he found time for a poetic translation of the Aeneid, which went through two editions in as many years. He was the last governor who ex-officio received a Doctorate of Laws from Harvard for the overseers deemed Butler's accession as a cue for discontinuing the custom. With three terms in Congress he declined a renomination preferring a barrister's life, though he never regarded himself as a great or thoroughly trained lawyer, however, successful before a jury which he believed no real measure of a man. "Congressmen are a set of ordinary men, no better no worse. They mean well and serve well; but their jealousies, envies, and bitternesses are innumerable." Thus he wrote of contemporary statesmen.

The sections of the diary dealing with the navy during the Spanish War are most valuable for students of recent history. Sketches of McKinley, Senators Lodge and Hoar, Hobart and Hale, and of Roosevelt are rather intimate and frank. His observations on Washington society are more clever than kind, for he found most dinners boring, but none more so than those given by the Vice President. Of patronage, he grew sick, with Penrose and the Connecticut Senators as his special butt. Hobart asks for an appointment, Hanna that a vessel belonging to his brother be purchased; Pennsylvanians urge anthracite instead of bituminous for ships, Senators Frye and Chandler demand special protection for their coast cities; Alger's failure as Secretary of War adds to his burden; Roosevelt's uncontrolable energy aroused his fear; Oliver Belmont bargains for a naval commission; and annoying were the scrimmages between Alger and Captain Mahan and between Sampson and Schley. These are all mentioned. And, Long gives credit to the unsung men of the bureau: "As to the credit for the readiness of our Navy, it belongs neither to Mr. Roosevelt nor to myself. I get more credit because I am at the head; Roosevelt, because he was such an active fellow in other things. But in that particular respect the whole credit belongs to the Chiefs of the Bureaus, like O'Neil of Ordnance, and Bradford of Equipment, and the others who have been indefatigable in their work, who have made splendid provision, and

who probably wont get a particle of credit. Such is the injustice of the world." (p. 198).

Though a vice presidential possibility in 1900, he gladly accepted Roosevelt for his desire was retirement in the obscure village of Hingham. Mr. Mayo has given us a good volume which adds considerable to an understanding of the McKinley administration.

R. J. P.

Modern History. By Carlton J. H. Hayes, Professor of History in Columbia University, and Parker Thomas Mon, Assistant Professor of History in Columbia University. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1923. Pp. ix + 890.

This work has beeen issued as a text for Modern European History in secondary schools and it is representative of the latest results of historical research and scholarship. It is not a revision of any former volume but tells the story of the last hundred years in an entirely new and most attractive manner. For example it discusses the wars of Louis XIV in the seventeenth century and those of Napoleon in the nineteenth with an eye to the campaigns of Marshal Foch in the twentieth. It tells the story of the partition of Poland in the eighteenth century with a discussion of its restoration in recent days. It explains the work of Bismarck and Cavour with a thought of the recent undoing of the one and the completion of the other. Furthermore, it shows the continuity of modern imperialism from early Portuguese explorations in the fifteenth century to the downfall of the German colonial empire in the twentieth; it illustrates the rise of nationalism and democracy, takes account of the Great War which has furnished a new perspective for the old history.

Its most noteworthy features in the opinion of the reviewer are: new viewpoints, tolerance, and a skilful presentation of mooted incidents and controversial periods.

Following a comprehensive and illuminating Introduction are six major divisions: I, Background and Beginnings; II, The Age of Autocracy; III, The Great Revolutions; IV, The Age of Democracy; V, The White Man's Burden; VI, The World in Ferment. These sections are subdivided into chapters to each of

which are appended a "Set of Questions for Review": Some pertinent "Special Topics" and "References" which are invaluable aids to the average student of History. In addition there is a list of titles of "Historical Fiction" selected with a view to bridge the imaginary gulf between History and Literature. The text is equipped with admirable "Helps" for teacher and student, plentiful maps (a majority of which are colored plates) illustrations which are not of the hackneyed type, and a copious Index.

The treatment of subjects is mainly topical, but the chronological essentials have not been overlooked. It should appeal in a special manner to the tyro who has had no medieval history or ancient history as the Special Introduction explains the heritage of the past and places Modern History in its proper perspective and to the student who has already studied ancient and medieval history it serves as a connecting link.

The authors justify their mode of treatment by stating in the Preface: "It is less important that the secondary school student know a large number of isolated persons and things than that he should know thoroughly the really significant facts and people; and it is vastly more important that he should get a clear picture of the whole landscape than that he should gather vague impressions of fleeting fences and telegraph poles." It emphasizes the fact that history is not an arid waste abounding in dates, nor is it a mere recital of the names of kings and the doings of diplomats seated at green tables.

The reviewer hails this splendid volume with delight and finds it eminently useful in the presentation of matter to his classes. It has enormously lessened professorial labor and at the same time it affords students the means of solving many perplexing historical problems. He has consequently no hesitancy in recommending the volume unreservedly to those who have long sought such a manual.

P. W. B.

Father Price of Maryknoll. Compiled from the Letters of his Friends by a Priest of Maryknoll. Maryknoll, N. Y.: The Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, 1923. Pp. xv + 92.

The literary output of Maryknoll is extensive, and its quan-

tity is eclipsed by its quality. It is all characteristically missionary and intensely human with an ever-abundant element of spirituality. The latest literary product is a manifestation of the splendid faith and untiring zeal of the beloved Father Price, co-founder with the Very Rev. James Anthony Walsh of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America.

It was the reviewer's privilege to have had close intimacy with Father Price and the memories of the contact have been revived and stimulated by the little volume which narrates all too briefly the life-story of an Apostle whose earthly career was wholly spent in quest of souls. He was ceaselessly devoted to the spreading of Christ's kingdom on earth, self-effacing, austere, zealous; and if the voice of an Apostle has potency, Maryknoll has an irresistible intercessor before the throne of God.

The early ministry of Father Price was exercised in the Southland, where his ever-increasing thirst for souls and heroic sacrifices are household words. When he became associated with the present Superior of Maryknoll a new phase of missionary activity began characterized by the same zeal, the same forgetfulness of self, the same yearning for the salvation of immortal souls.

When the first band of missionaries was being organized at Maryknoll for work in the Orient, Father Price, then in his fifty-eighth year, asked to be assigned a place amongst the pioneers of the Chinese mission. He became the counsellor, model, and inspiration of his three youthful companions who loved him as a father, and who, to-day, in the midst of their labors, cherish the remembrance of his Christlike charity, and his memory as a benediction.

His ministry was short, but it was fruitful in results. Martyrdom was his desired goal. He found it, not as he sought it, but in the mysterious way designed by Providence. Death found him ready to go "home," there to continue his apostolate through the Communion of Saints. His death gives Maryknoll a special claim to the soil of the Orient, and the seeds planted by Father Price will in God's good time give an abundant harvest of souls.

We have just one cause of complaint to register with regard to this inspiring and beautifully edited biographical sketch; it is

all too brief. Let us hope that in the not distant future an ampler work will record the life of this great servant of God.

P. W. B.

The American Convert Movement. By Rev. Edward J. Mannix, S.T.L. New York: Devin Adair Co., 1923. Pp. 150.

The author, who has had long experience in helping others to see the light of Catholic faith, is to be congratulated on giving to the American public this very interesting and valuable volume. The power to make converts is one of the striking characteristics of the Catholic Church. This power has made itself felt on men and women of every condition of life,—on the lowly and unlearned, on the representatives of the highest culture and intellectual training, scientists, philosophers, university professors, lawyers, judges, physicians, statesmen, officers of the army and the navy, authors, artists, musicians, clergymen of many different Protestant denominations, and more remarkable still, avowed skeptics and atheists. Even the mere list of a large number of distinguished converts to Catholicism, as is given in Gordon Gormon's *Converts to Rome*, is impressive. Doubly so are such works as *Roads to Rome*, giving the testimonies of noted converts in England to the influences that drew them to the Catholic faith and the similar compilation by Georgiana Pell Curtis, *Some Roads to Rome in America*, embodying the personal experiences of converts in our own country.

In the little volume under review the author has gone a step further. Drawing from material both old and new, he has had in mind to analyze the multiform process of conversion to Catholic belief, and to classify the motives that have been chiefly operative in drawing souls to the recognition and acceptance of the Catholic faith. After preliminary chapters in which the magnitude of the convert movement in America is set forth and its information-sources discussed, he takes up the psychology of conversion and distinguishes four stages in the complicated and ever varying process, the occasion awakening interest in the Catholic Church, the conscious sense of duty to investigate its claims, the investigation itself, and lastly, its fruition in the formal profession of faith. These stages are illustrated with typical cases of

conversion that challenge the interest of the reader. A closing chapter treats of the many characteristics of the American Convert Movement A short, favorable appreciation of the work by the Right Reverend Rector of the Catholic University, Bishop Shahan, serves as an appropriate introduction.

For this painstaking and readable presentation, edifying to the born Catholic, comforting to the convert, who often in suffering and privation has secured the pearl of great price, and inspiring to the conscientious seeker after religious truth, the author is deserving of thanks and praise.

CHARLES F. AIKEN, S.T.D.

The Whig Party in Pennsylvania. By Henry R. Müeller, Ph.D., Professor of History in Muhlenberg College. Columbia University Studies. New York: Longmans, 1922. Pp. 271.

The Whig Party in Pennsylvania will prove a worthy addition to available sources for our future constitutional history. The chief value of the book, as the reviewer sees values, is found, not in the fact that the party is Whig or that it centers interest in Pennsylvania rather than in New York or Maryland or the New England States, but in the author's choice of materials for a picture of contemporaneous problems in life and politics. The Whig Party in this picture is only one of the factors to be studied in detail, a phase of politics and organization which grew out of conditions of the time. The period—1834 to 1854—is a time of transition, replete with changes and new developments in the finances of the country, in industry and in trade. New environments in the life of the people and the nation were calling for new adjustment, and new methods in applied politics and control. Logically the movement, in national and local politics, was a movement of protest and reform. Promise of righteousness, as righteousness goes in party politics, was the order of the day. Whether it is viewed as a "third party" in politics or as a new alignment of old Federalists and Jefferson and Jackson Democrats, the Whig Party promised solutions for the problems of the time. These problems are the frame of our political history. "Platforms" and "planks" and pre-election promises are an index to influences at work. They show how men thought and theo-

rized, and how they acted in the enthusiasm of party feeling. There is material here, in the localized and intensive campaigns of the thirties and forties, for study of the American character, if we may claim a character as our own. We find at least a point of temperament that is distinctive—a party spirit that rises periodically to the fever heat of the pre-election crisis, and settles down the day after election to the calm of accepted victory or defeat.

Some of the problems that are always with us and always to be solved may be studied here in objective and concrete form. The re-chartering of the Bank of the United States was the first great problem of national importance which made the Whig Party a factor in the politics of the State and of the Nation. The President, Andrew Jackson, and with him the old national Democratic Party, were consistently opposed to the granting of a new charter at the expiration of the old, March 4, 1836. Though the question of re-chartering the bank was one of nation-wide interest, and its results are reflected in the "hard times" and the financial wrecks of the years 1837 to 1841, it was in Pennsylvania, the state of industrial prospect and promise, and in Philadelphia, the home of the Bank, that the shock of a change in the established system of finance and credit was first feared, then felt in the years of reaction. The plan to save the Bank under the protection and support of a state charter after the expiration of its life term as a national institution was fostered by men of genius and integrity. Nicholas Biddle, the President of the Bank, favored the scheme. Thaddeus Stevens is said to have drawn up the bill for the legislature. Joseph Ritner was elected governor in 1835 on the Bank issue by a coalition between Whigs and Anti-Masons; though later he vetoed the tax measure which put into the hands of the Bank the financial control of the States internal improvements, "Public works" as they were then called, the construction of turnpikes, canals and railroads. The earnings of the Bank were expected also to bear the burden of expenditures for the administration of the State government. State taxes were to be a thing of past history. The whole design, whether sound or unsound in theory and principle, was running counter to the known policy of the federal government. President Jackson during two terms, 1829-

1837 stood firm against the re-chartering of the Bank, which he regarded as a system of favor to local interests and to capital. Van Buren, Vice-President in Jackson's second term and his successor as chief executive, 1837 to 1841, had given warning to the faction favorable to the Bank. The politics of the Whig Party, by combination with the Anti-Masons carried the elections of 1835. Ritner was chosen governor by a plurality which was spoken of at the time as a "Ritner flood over his two opponents, Muhlenberg and Wolf. The Legislature also showed a gain of Whigs over Democrats. They stood twenty-eight to twenty-six; but forty-six members were classed as Anti-Masons. The Senate remained Democratic, but individual Senators were out of political harmony. A bill, framed, it is said, by Thaddeus Stevens, provided for the financing of the State's internal improvements by the Bank. The bill reads: "*An Act* to repeal the State tax on real and personal property, and to continue and extend the improvements of the State by railroads and canals, and to charter a state bank to be called The United States Bank." The transfer of the Bank's properties was made by the stockholders at a meeting held on the twentieth of February, 1836, two days after the approval of the Act. The officials of the Bank, its directors and its corporate name remained unchanged. The power incorporating was the Pennsylvania State Legislature, not Congress or any branch of the federal government. Subsequent charges of pre-election promises, the prospect of contracts in road building and canals were probably not without foundation: but an investigation by the Legislature, which had returned to a Democratic majority in 1837 failed to prove the charges. In 1837 Van Buren, the declared enemy of the then existing banking systems, carried the State for the Democrats, and David Porter, a Van Buren Democrat, was elected Governor over two opponents, Ritner and Schulze, in 1883. The contested elections of members of the Legislature in this campaign developed into a prolonged fight for control, which ended in the calling out of the militia, the "Buckshot War" at Harrisburg, and more political munitions for future campaigns. In the Presidential election of 1840 the Whigs carried the State for Harrison. With no definite platform the party found it easy to blame the Democratic administration for the

business depression and "hard times" of Van Buren's government and the Bank policy of Jackson. The victory in Pennsylvania and elsewhere was one of popular feeling more than principle or political righteousness. The catchwords "Hard Cider," the "Log Cabin" and sentiment for Tippecanoe won votes. Popular enthusiasm was stronger in those days, if not more to be trusted than "gang rule." In 1844 James K. Polk carried the State for the Democrats against Clay and Frelinghuysen, the regular Whig candidates. The protective tariff and the annexation of Texas were main points at issue. Polk had promised to stand for the tariff of 1842. This added to his strength in Pennsylvania. But there was a religious element. Fanatics throughout the country were making capital of anti-Catholic feeling wherever they found it safe to make use of the tinder of religious hate. Clay was quoted as saying that "there can be no peace until Catholics are exterminated from the country." The Whigs in Pennsylvania were looking for numerical strength. As formerly they had combined with the Anti-Masons, so now they were counting upon the support of the "Native American" vote to carry the State for Clay. This was recognized by the papers in post-election reviews as a wrong move politically, a misjudging of forces, passing over principle to court the popularity of an un-American clan. It was felt that the "Native Americans" had cost Clay the election, not as a contributing cause, but as the factor repellant. The riots of May and June, 1844, in Philadelphia, when two Catholic churches, St. Augustine's and St. Michael's, were burned, could not inspire confidence. The Catholic vote throughout the State, and, we may believe, the vote of sound sense, was estranged by this political hob-nobbing with a party, which is perennially revived under various names, which elevates its own exclusive type of patriotism into a State Religion. Witness the present Klan professions of "one hundred per cent American," and the Prohibition extremists, for whom the Christian code of morals seems to be reduced to just one point of Mohammedan dietary observance—no wine.

In the national campaigns of 1848 and 1854 Pennsylvania returned to the old orthodox allegiance to Jeffersonian Democracy. The "Native American" fanaticism reappeared in 1854 and 1855 under the rather significant name of the "Knownoth-

ings." But the tide of anti-Catholic feeling has been moving steadily Southward and Westward. It is strong in centers of population where rumors of mysterious peril to American institutions go unchallenged, where people are delightfully entertained by oratory about Catholic allegiance to a foreign power. These people like to be frightened.

There is one point of material interest to which we would invite the attention of future historians of politics and party movement, particularly the anti-Catholic feeling and action in Pennsylvania and Philadelphia. Bishop Kenrick's *Diary* and the *Kenrick-Frenay Correspondence* belonging to the Philadelphia Cathedral Archives are available sources for this period in local history. They are privately printed, but may be found in many public libraries. They contain first-hand information on the riots and add materially to the frightened editorials, the half-hearted or one-sided paper accounts of the time. No one knows the qualities of Bishop Kenrick will fear unfairness in what he has put on record of those days of trial for Catholics in Philadelphia.

F. E. TOURSCHER, O.S.A.

Life and Letters of Janet Erskine Stuart, Superior-General of the Society of the Sacred Heart. 1857-1914. By Maud Monahan. With an Introduction by His Eminence, Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1923. Pp. 517.

Those who desire to extract the greatest spiritual profit combined with keen intellectual enjoyment from this admirable Life of Mother Stuart, Superior-General of the Society of the Sacred Heart from 1911 until her death in 1914, should read with careful attention the five pages of introduction contributed by His Eminence, Cardinal Bourne. For this preface not only provides an adequate digest of the five hundred pages which the author, Maud Monahan, requires to expand her theme but the development of an exquisite and most unusual spiritual existence is explained through certain inherent characteristics. That His Eminence recognized in Mother Stuart, the ideal religious

superior is conveyed in a virile passage in which he proclaims himself "as one who cherishes the liberty of the sons of God,"—and he might have added of His daughters and he comments that too many religious are led to model themselves on some exemplar, their founder, the master or mistress of novices who trained them or some purely human tradition. But Mother Stuart with "a saintly boldness" interpreted the regulations of her society so that the rights of God in every soul should be held inviolate, and likewise the rights of every soul in God.

"For, after all," continues His Eminence, "our Divine Lord is alone our true model.... While rules, institutes and methods will always have their own intrinsic and necessary uses, they must ever remain but the means and never usurp the place of the one essential end, the union of the individual soul with God. Mother Stuart grasped and taught this truth with a clearness, I have never seen surpassed." In Chapter IV of the Life, which bears the charming title of "Waiting on the Covert Side," the author ascribes this highly organized sense of fair play to the sport loving nature of her subject, and that she had applied to every act of life the lofty principles exacted on the field. This explanation is as novel as it must be important in appraising the attributes necessary for those who are charged with the direction of seekers after perfection.

Few biographers of religious leaders offer so many avenues for thoughtful enjoyment. The volume naturally falls into two parts, the record of the earthly career of this valiant servant of the Sacred Heart, and her collected letters. But the author is almost unique in her self-effacement and her narrative is so largely composed of Mother Stuart's own words culled from letters, essays, meditations, and miscellaneous papers that it might be called autobiographical. The result is to give only fragmentary parts of letters in but thirty-five pages of the total 517 and these extracts though excellent in every way, for this eminent woman was a master of diction, are rather tantalizing for the reader who would relish the complete text. There is material in this somewhat bulky volume for several, and it may be a future activity of the order of which she was so illustrious an adornment to publish her writings and letters in the natural groups. Those dealing with the spiritual life have evidently

also amaze thousands of bird lovers to read in many parts of Mother Stuart's letters during her visitations to the houses of the Sacred Heart in this country, that she never heard the birds sing and that to do so, was very rare. Every one will regret that she missed this glorious treat, for it may be pointed that almost every garden book published in English gives minute instructions to attract song birds to the premises whereas the Department of Agriculture will bear witness of the tens of thousands of letters received annually from gardeners, amateur and professional, bitterly complaining of the multitude of the feathered songsters and their destructive methods in the kitchen patch and in the orchard. But these are slight considerations! So few typographical errors are seen in this volume that it is regretable that one mars the opening paragraph.

MARGARET B. DOWNING.

Reconstruction in Arkansas, 1862-1874. By Dr. Thomas S. Staples. Columbia University Studies, Vol. 109. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1923. Pp. 450.

Professor Staples, of Hendrix College, commenced this study of Reconstruction in Arkansas under the late William A. Dunning, of Columbia University, whose seminar has been responsible for about all the scholarly studies of the Reconstruction period, save Dr. Charles H. McCarthy's *Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction* which incidentally the author has found a valuable source of information. After preliminary investigation, the author found it necessary to start with the appointment of J. S. Phelps as military governor in 1862 and follow the various influences sectional and factional until 1875 when a sort of local Liberal-Republican schism enabled the Democrats to gain power. During this time, Arkansas saw two years of Civil War, four years of loyal State government, a time under the brigadier generals, political reconstruction in 1867 and 1868, and six years of corrupt Republican rule. Dr. Staples has covered the ground in a painstaking way, using secondary sources to slight extent but laboriously extracting the last whit of information from official reports, state manuscripts, and local journals. Far superior to the average dissertation, Professor Staples has writ-

ten for the scholar and especially for the scholar in the period of the Civil War or in the State history of Arkansas.

The work of Columbia men in Reconstruction—Dunning, Chadsey, Woolley, Ramsdel, Davis, Hamilton, Kendrick, Thompson, Ware, Staples—demonstrates what can be done to cover intensively a large field and period by a group of interested graduate scholars under ripe guidance. Few men can point to such a school as part of their bequest to American historical writing.

One wonders if some day an endowed Gilmary Shea will inspire a number of Catholic scholars or students of his seminar to commit themselves each to the history of a diocese or an arch-diocese or to a biography of an outstanding prelate and thus give us a library of scholarly research volumes telling the story of the Church in America. A general account of worth could then easily be written.

R. J. P.

The Civil War in America. By Walter Gaston Shotwell. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1923. 2 vols. Pp. 397, 379.

Mr. Shotwell, previously known for his *Life of Charles Sumner*, aims in the present work to tell in an accurate, interesting, and popular manner the story of the Civil War so that it may be profitably read by the general public as well as by students and specialists. His materials have been drawn entirely from the printed Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies for which he expresses indebtedness to former Congressman Joseph J. Gill of Ohio. In addition he has visited the principal battlefields and traveled sufficiently in the South to become familiar with the country and the people. There is no bibliography or evidencce of the author's reliance on previous general studies and innumerable special studies of men, campaigns, battles, and issues. Maps and campaign diagrams would aid materially in following the text which is unusually easy reading for a work of this kind.

The first ten chapters are introductory, developing the general causes of the war from Texan annexation to the firing on Fort Sumpter. Forty-five chapters on the war, battle after battle in chronological order, enable the author to write at tedious

length. Only the military side is emphasized, all else appears incidentally. Mr. Shotwell has done an immense amount of work and has given the student and general reader a mighty full narrative of the Civil War and a handy digest of the forbidding one hundred and thirty volumes of the officially published Rebellion Records.

R.J. P.

The Crusades. By Ernest Barker, Principal of King's College, London. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, 1923. Pp. 112.

This volume of *The World's Manuals* is essentially a reprint of the article on the Crusades in the last edition of the *Encyclopedia Brittannica*, by Mr. Barker, principal of King's College, London. In conformity with the purpose of the whole series, which aims to give only the landmarks that will serve to guide the special student and to inform the serious reader, this account of a vast field is exceedingly condensed, every page bristling with names, dates, facts, allusions,—to a degree that tends to confuse. The significance of the Crusades, their historical causes, conduct and results are concisely described, together with an interesting outline of the organization of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the latter showing the continual conflict over royal prerogatives and rights of the barony and burgesses. Much emphasis is given to the gradual shifting of control from clerical to lay power, and to the influence of factors political and economic. Personal aims of the leaders, hope on the part of individuals for escape from famine, pestilence and oppression at home, and for gain and adventure afield, desire for newer and enlarged oriental trade outlets, opportunity for universal Church domination, as well as the "penitential pilgrimage" idea are prominently stressed. But no doubt is left that "to the mass of Crusaders the religious motive was all in all." (P. 17). At bottom of the Church's encouragement of the movements is supposed to have been her desire to consecrate fighting instincts that might otherwise have broken out into less honorable projects. The account, scholarly throughout, and based as far as possible on source material, closes with mention of the advantageous consequences that made the Crusades an epoch in the history of

civilization. Owing to the maze of massed details, however, the book is not interestingly written, and its best service will probably come from a wider circulation of the encyclopedia article.

JOHN F. BURNS, O.S.A.

Constantinople, Canterbury and Rome: A Criticism of Bishop Gore's Theory of the Catholic Church. By Rev. F. Woodlock, S.J., M.C. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1923. Pp. 88.

Not only to Catholics who wish to be informed as to the latest phase of the "Anglo-Catholic" theory concerning the Church, with a view to being able to answer objections, but especially to the numerous "Anglo-Catholics" who are searching for the truth, will this admirable book be of value. The latter will find solution for many of their difficulties regarding the true nature of the Church of Christ.

The book reproduces five lectures delivered by the author as a rejoiner to Bishop Gore's addresses on "Catholicism and Roman Catholicism." Father Woodlock in lines drawn from Gore's own words sketches a picture of the Bishop's idea of the Catholic Church founded by Christ. He then takes up five points of controversy, viz., the dogmatic character of the Church's teaching, the Supremacy of Peter, Unity of Belief, Anglican Orders, the Branch-Theory; and in a clear, concise manner he shows how untenable Bishop Gore's position is. A list of useful books treating of the same or similar points of controversy is appended to the lectures. Father Woodlock has not only united clearness with brevity but has also been able to set forth the Catholic position in a popular manner without becoming inaccurate. He makes no gratuituous statements but supports his assertions by incontestable facts of history. Although Father Woodlick's express purpose is to refute Bishop Gore's theory he really does more than that. He shows very clearly the inherent weakness of the whole "Anglo-Catholic" theory and in doing so he incidentally sets forth some interesting points of Catholic doctrine, e. g., the difference and relation between the power of jurisdiction and the power of Orders (p. 50 sqq). We think the work would have gained if the spoken word had been reduced to a

more literary form. In the first lecture, for instance, there is noticeable a lack of unity for it contains three distinct parts :(1) preliminaries; (2), Bishop Gore's Theory; (3), Discussion of the dogmatic character of the Church's teaching. We also venture to state that it would have been better to place the titles of works from which quotations are taken at the bottom of the page and to cite them accurately and in full. Thus the first time H. Denzigers "Enchiridion Symbolorum et Definitionum" is quoted (p. 27), we read "Denz. 171." To many a lay reader this would be puzzling; thus also, many readers would be thankful for an indication telling them where to find St. Basil's letter to St. Athanasius alluded to on page 24. As far as we know St. Irenaeus' work, quoted on page 25, is known and invariably cited "Contra" or "Adversus Haereses" not "Adv. Haeret." But these and other deficiencies regard only the minor and external details of the book, and do not lessen its intrinsic worth.

CHARLES A. BECKERMAN, S.S.D., O.S.A.

MINOR NOTICES

The Journal of John Work, a chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Co., during his expedition from Vancouver to the Flatheads and Blackfeet of the Pacific Northwest, edited by William S. Lewis and Paul C. Phillips. Cleveland: The Arthur C. Clark Company, 1923. Pp. 209.

Another extremely valuable volume has been added to the growing bibliography of the Far West. Mr. Phillips contributes an introductory essay of some fifty pages "The Fur Trade in the Northwest" which is probably the best short account available of the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company, Northwest Company, Astor's Pacific Fur Company, the St. Louis American interests, and of their various factors, McLoughlin, David Stuart, Duncan McDougal, David Thompson, Alexander Ross, Donald McKenzie, Peter Ogden, McDonald, Manuel Lisa, the Chouteaus and numberless others. Several of the traders have left records or journals, but none more valuable than that of John Work, a North-of-Ireland-man who served the Hudson Bay Co., as clerk and later chief trader. Of Work, there is a short biographical sketch and an account of his manuscript journal, the editors working from copy of the original in the Provincial Library at Victoria, made by its librarian a number of years ago for Professor E. S. Meaney, an authority on the history of the Pacific Coast.

Under the direcion of Dr. McLoughlin, Work left Vancouver in August, 1831, to return the following July, after traversing the lands of the Flatheads and the Blackfeet along the Columbia River, Snake River, to the Beaverhead country through the region which is now eastern Montana and central Idaho. His journal describes the fur trade when the Hudson's Bay Company was supreme, and his accounts of Indian hostility partially refute the view that the Company's operatives were inciting the Blackfeet to attack the Americans. But Work is long dead and so safe from attack by those "patriot-historians" who ever fear British propaganda.

It is a good piece of editorial work and the publisher, too, may well prize this addition to his list of publications on the West.

R. J. P.

The Populist Movement in Georgia. By Alex Mathews Arnett, Ph.D. Columbia University Studies, Vol. 104. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1922. Pp. 239.

Professor Arnett, a native of Georgia, submitted this study of the Populist Movement for his doctorate at Columbia. Close personal touch with Senators Watson and Felton, and Governors Northern, Hines and Slaton enabled the writer to supplement the printed and newspaper sources to advantage. He explains for Georgia, and conditions were somewhat similar in the agrarian South and West, the basis of agrarian discontent which aroused the "embattled farmers" to attack the old Bourbon democracy and establish a Peoples' Party which was swallowed along with some of its policies by the Bryan-Democracy of 1896. Dr. Arnett's work is wider in scope than the title would indicate as he, himself, suggests in the preface: "In this study of the causes, manifestations, and results of the Populist movement as they have appeared in Georgia, the writer has been more intent upon illustrating some of the main currents of American life in the past fifty years than upon presenting a fragment of state history. It was a nation-wide movement." Even more, it is a recurring movement as the present agrarian discontent of the wheat-growing states will indicate.

R. J. P.

Massachusetts Historical Society. Proceedings October, 1922-June, 1923. Vol. 56. Boston: 1923. Pp. 513.

This volume contains memoirs of several of the native intelligentsia class: Edward H. Clement long editor of the Boston Transcript (until 1906) and later minor contributor, Dr. Harold Ernst, Endicott Saltonstall, and Charles Bowditch. Among the most interesting papers are the following: "The British at Concord," by Harold Murdock; "Franklin's Accounts," by W. C. Ford; "Crisis of the Civil War—Antietam," by Capt. T. G. Forthingham; "Notes on Jackson's Visit to New England," by John S. Bassett; "Francis Parkman," by Senator Lodge; and "Life in a New England Village in the Sixties," by Philip Hale. The "Dalton Letters 1861-65," about one hundred and forty pages, are valuable for the Civil War period.

The Constitution of the United States, Its Sources, Origin and Purpose. A Catechism by Dr. Joseph Och. Revised edition. Columbus: Press of the Pontifical College Josephinum, 1922. Pp. 100.

Dr. Och, under an unwielding title, has printed an epitome of his course of lectures in American Federal Government. The method of presentation by question and answer is rather old-fashioned but the material covered is extensive and excellent. This outline and the author's list of recommended books should prove valuable to young lawyers, college students and teachers of the subject in high schools and colleges. Teachers preparing for state examinations or persons looking toward the civil service may find this brochure especially useful.

Richmond, Its People and Its Story. By Mary Newton Stannard, J.B. Philadelphia: Lippincott Company, 1923. Pp. 239.

Mrs. Stannard, author of *Colonial Virginia: Its People and Customs*, and wife of Dr. William G. Stannard editor of the Virginia *Historical Magazine*, is indeed well equipped to write a popular sketch of Richmond. Popular in style and purpose, the volume is historical in tone, based on a wealth of material in the state archives of which her husband has custody. It is not a record of facts and dates nor a catalogue of eminent citizens, but a survey of three centuries of Richmond life told in a readable way which will appeal to all lovers of the Old Dominion and Confederate capital. The publisher has been in agreeable accord if one may judge from the fine printing, numerous illustrations, and pleasing format.

Richmond, as part of a manor, platted by the Byrds, incorporated as a city, and made the state capital in the Revolutionary era, is described during the war days and the critical period, in the Washington administration, in the days of Marshall, in the years of the trial of Burr and the War of 1812, in the national period, and in the Civil War and Reconstruction times. Richmond of to-day should have won more space, and around its present progress and prosperity the advance of the new South might have been depicted. Social history is not neglected. One learns

much concerning plantation and slave life, and sees in a clearer light some of the great Virginians. Of a Catholic note in the irreligious years around 1800 is the reference: "In a tiny house near Mayor's Bridge lived the good and scholarly priest, Abbé Du Bois, who ministered to the spiritual needs of a little band of Roman Catholics." (P. 72). Among the illustrations of modern Richmond, there is one of the Cathedral of the Sacred Heart. The small band apparently grew in numbers and prosperity and the tiny house into the elaborate cathedral-church.

R. J. P.

A History of the Sea Power. By William Oliver Stevens and Allan Westcott. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1920. Pp. 458.

Somewhat old for a formal review, this book should be called to the attention of our readers for it serves a real purpose outlining within reasonable space the evolution and influence of sea power from the Phoenicians to the present. The authors, both professors in the Naval Academy at Annapolis, have done more than popularize Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, they have brought it up to date both in content and time. It should be a useful volume for more than ensigns and naval officers, but as well for the general student of history who desires a broader and somewhat different point of view. Short lists of references follow each chapter, rather than imposing bibliographies which over-awe college students and accomplish little else. There are sufficient cuts and illustrations of ships of different types and periods and diagrams of a few critical sea fights to insure the layman's ability to follow the narrative.

A list of chapter headings will give an idea of the ground covered: The Beginnings of Navies, Athens as a Sea Power, The Sea Power of Rome, Navies of the Middle Ages, Opening the Ocean Routes, Sea Power in the North, England and the Armada, Rise of the English Sea Power, Napoleonic Wars, Revolution in Naval Warfare, Rivalry for World Power, and the World War (three chapters). Tested by the account of the Christian Alliance against the Turks in 1570, of the Armada, and of the papal line of demarcation, the authors have been eminently fair. Nor is there any objectionable naval propaganda, or violent anti-German feeling evidenced in the later chapters.

R. J. P.

NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

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American History, Iconoclasm in. Olaf Tandberg (*Dalhousie Review* July).

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Altopascio: A Forgotten Order. Ephraim Emerton (*American Historical Review*, October).

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Bible for School and Home, The. Rev. J. Patterson Smyth (*International Book Review*, August).

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HEAVEN AND HELL IN COMPARATIVE RELIGION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DANTE'S "DIVINE COMEDY." By Kauffman Kohler. New York: Macmillan Co., 1923. Pp. xix + 158.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A Relic of Bishop John England.— Mr. Shane Leslie, editor of the *Dublin Review*, was instrumental in securing for Dr. Guilday a precious relic of the first Bishop of Charleston, upon whose Life and Times Dr. Guilday is now engaged. It is a copy of Father John Gother's *Papist Mis-Represented and Represented, or a Two-Fold Character of Popery*, reprinted in Dublin in 1806, with a life of the author. On the inside of the front cover and on the two fly-leaves, Dr. England, then President of St. Mary's College, Cork, has written a summary of the famous little book, which was first printed in London, in 1685. Dr. England evidently presented the book to a Mr. Briscoe with the following dedication in his own handwriting: "To Mr. Briscoe as an unsophisticated inquirer after truth, as an Englishman having overcome many of his local prejudices, as a Protestant, disposed to act with justice towards his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects—this little book with the written observations on the first leaf is presented as a most trifling token of great esteem, by his very humble and obedient servant, JOHN ENGLAND, *St. Mary's College, Cork, Nov. 1, 1814.*" Briscoe had evidently asked Dr. England for an answer to the calumnies made by English Protestants against the Catholic Church, and Dr. England's annotations on the first two pages have the additional interest of having been written at a time when the question of Catholic Emancipation was being seriously mooted in English and Irish circles. "As the Roman Catholic Faith" he writes, "*never* varies, the doctrine of any one period may be learned from an acquaintance with that of any other period and hence the answer to the misrepresentations of the year 1650 will answer the calumnies of 1814. Mr. Gother was a public teacher and a public writer in the Catholic Church. His works have never been censured; on the contrary they have always been looked upon as perfectly orthodox; consequently every Roman Catholic of every age and of every nation is chargeable with the doctrinal principles of this book if bad, and may claim the benefit of them if good, for there can not exist the slightest variation of doctrine between Roman Catholics, however removed from each other by time or distance. Although the doctrine contained in this book be perfectly orthodox, yet the reasons given as the foundation of that doctrine must be in a great measure imperfect from their being extremely concise; they must therefore be considered rather as an index of reference than as a treatise of polemical theology; and hence though to the well-instructed they are conclusive, yet they who are but slightly acquainted with the grounds of the Catholic Faith will require previous inquiry in order to feel their full force. The other works which throw light upon the Catholic Faith are—Hay's *Sincere Christian*, Bossuet's *Exposition of the Catholic Faith, Young Gentleman Instructed in the Choice of His Religion, by Challoner.* Church in danger from Catholic Emancipation. 1. If the professors of that religion look upon it to be from God, they should have more faith in his promises than to consider the oppression of men whose principles are pure, to be

necessary for the support of truth. 2. Evil should not be done or continued even to procure good, yet oppression of men whose principles are pure is continued for the purpose of upholding the Church establishment. 3. Catholics *by their principles* could not meddle with the administration of any church except their own. 4. The legislature may justly enact that no Catholic should intermeddle with the Protestant Church of Establishment. 5. Catholics will swear that they will never "*by force or fraud*" attempt to subvert the Protestant Church or Establishment. 6. The body of the Catholic Clergy do not wish for the temporalities of the Protestant Church. 7. They acknowledge the *altum dominium* of the State and avow that they consequently have no claim to the temporalities. 8. Attempt to subvert the Church would be as easily discovered as attempts to subvert the State and might be punished with equal severity. JOHN ENGLAND, *St. Mary's College, Cork, November 1814.*"

Father John Gother was a convert from Protestantism. He entered the English College in 1668, at Lisbon, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1682. His missionary life was spent mostly in and around London, and during the rest of his career——he died in 1704——he wrote and published a series of controversical works which have seldom been equalled in the history of Catholic apologetics. Dryden admired his style above that of many of his contemporaries, and Charles Butler places him in the category of Dean Swift. It was Father Gother who instructed and received into the Church, Mrs. Challoner and her young son, Richard, who was to become later the greatest light of the English Catholic Church of the Eighteenth Century.

Concluding Words of Luther's Speech at the Diet of Worms.— In the spring of 1521 Martin Luther received a summons from the new Emperor Charles V, to appear before the diet of the Empire at Worms. The summons was really a favor granted upon the urgent request of Luther's influential friends, since his case was already definitely settled by the papal bull of excommunication. It was indeed expected by many, that when before that august assembly Luther would consent to submit to the lawful authority and stop his warfare against the Church. But disappointment awaited those who entertained such hopes. Luther in two speeches before the emperor and the assembly refused to retract any of his doctrines, and we read in countless Protestant books that he concluded his last speech with the dramatic words, "Here I stand. I cannot act otherwise. God help me, Amen."

But during the last several decades the sources upon which this story rests have been more carefully investigated, and Protestant as well as Catholic scholars have come to the conviction that Luther said no more than words, "God help me, Amen." This formula had nothing extraordinary in it. It was most frequently used to conclude addresses, especially when an accused man pleads for himself. At Luther's time it was already ages old. Father Hartmann Grisar calls it a Christianized *Dixi* (I have spoken), the word by which Roman orators used to terminate their speeches.

Nor was there anything dramatic in the situation. The emperor had already risen, full of indignation at Luther's obstinacy, and the other princes, too, amid loud talking made ready to leave the hot, torchlit hall after the long session. In the noise Luther's "God help me, Amen" was hardly audible, and it certainly attracted no special attention.

That Luther did not use the other words at all, we know from the first report of the happenings at Worms, which was printed under Luther's personal supervision, and the same is confirmed by several eye-witnesses. Embellishments, however, appear to have been added very soon by irresponsible persons, even during the year 1521. But it was not before 1545 that the later current formula was definitely coined.

The story is one of the countless Luther legends, refuted fifty years ago by the Protestant C. A. H. Burkhardt, and since then by many others. But it continued to be repeated in churches and lecture halls and in popular Protestant literature. It was powerfully revived, together with other products of Protestant fiction, during the centenary celebrations in 1917, 1920, and 1921, and will probably enjoy an immortal existence in spite of all corrections. It is deplorable that it is still met with even in Catholic publications (it was referred to as a fact in a Catholic periodical as late as November 1923) although a glance at the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. IX, page 446, would give the correct information.

A New Coptic Manuscript of St. John's Gospel.—The British School of Archeology in Egypt unearthed some months ago at Au-el-Bebir a papyrus manuscript. It is a Coptic translation of the Gospel of St. John, dating from the fourth century, and thus appears to lie between the two earliest Greek codices, the Vatican and the Sinaitic. It is now being exhibited for the first time at University College, London.

The MS. was found doubled up and wrapped in linen cloth. The leaves, of which there originally were about a hundred, have been straightened out by moistening with damp cotton wool, and many of them are in excellent condition. It is conjectured that this was a service book, buried for safety at the time of the Mohammedan invasion.

So far the book has not been entirely deciphered, but it is plain that it differs in several ways from the orthodox text and will be authoritative in so far as it will show what was the text of the Gospel as accepted by the early Copts, who, both ethnically and in language, are supposed to be the descendants of the Egyptians of the hieroglyphic age.

Other exhibits at the Museum, discovered at the same time as the Coptic MS., are an iron dagger assigned to the fortieth century B. C., which is considered the oldest iron implement in existence; the contents of an ivory carver's shop dating from the Nineteenth Dynasty, and the portions of three human skulls, one of full size and two of pigmy size, to which the provisional date of 50,000 B. C. has been assigned by Professor Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie.

The Beatification of Henry VI.— The Beatification of Henry VI is a subject of deep interest at the present time in England. The case was raised, after an interval of nearly four centuries, by Cardinal Gasquet about three years ago. The Cardinal has recently published a little book, *The Religious Life of King Henry VI*, in which he reviews the proceedings for the Beatification which began as far back as the reign of Henry VII, who endeavored to obtain the formal canonisation of Henry VI, from Popes Innocent VIII, Alexander VI and Julius II, supported by the evidences of that unfortunate Monarch's sanctity, collected by his former chaplain, John Blakman. Owing to Henry VII's death and the subsequent Reformation the cause remained in abeyance.

A Vindication of French Canadians.— Recently Robert C. Dexter, a professor of Clark University, vilified the people of whom he evidently knows little, in an article which was published in the *American Journal of Sociology*. The C. B. of the C. V. has rendered splendid service by replying to Professor Dexter's unwarranted statements. It says:

> The trend of Professor Dexter's accusations may be gleaned from a sentence such as this: "The absolute control of marriage, even to the extent of declaring mixed marriages illegal, and the children of same illegitimate, is," as he says, "a very powerful weapon with a people whose superstitions are a blend of Breton and Indian mysticism." The French Canadian feels, Professor Dexter says in another paragraph of his article, "that it was the Church that saved his language from disappearance, and possibly his race from amalgamation; and being kept in utter ignorance of what is going on in the outside world, he does not know the price he pays, in freedom, knowledge, and modern scientific thought, for this protection." The solid French vote is said to be controlled by the Hierarchy, while the "custodians of Peter's Pence" are accused of having "some interests in common with the guardians of other strong boxes." The educational system of the Province of Quebec is said to be deplorable, "and only accomplishes one end, viz., the inculcation of religious ideas through its constant control by the clergy." To this Professor Dexter adds: "As far as being a factor in teaching an intelligent patriotism, even comparable with our much-abused American schools, it is non-existent." French Canadian illiteracy is, however, "by no means entirely due to native stupidity." In fact, the Professor continues, "the brighter boys, who are chosen for religious orders, especially the Jesuits, show a great deal of native intelligence." The secondary schools and universities being entirely under the control of the clergy, lack "utterly the scientific spirit." And thus no one, who sets entire faith in Professor Dexter's opinion, will wonder when he proclaims towards the end of his article that this primitive folk is "ignorant, superstitious, with a limited idea of nationality." They are said to be de-

voted to their land and of "unstinted loyalty to an ancient religious organization." Their leaders, however, "instead of cultivating loyalty to the Dominion, and encouraging friendly relations with their fellow-citizens, spare no efforts to keep them a people apart," according to the opinion of this professor.

The Acadians, too, are of French descent, and devoutly Catholic. They do not differ materially from their brethren in the Province of Quebec. Now, of them quite recently Mr. George Kyte, M.P., has said in a public address, that they have a record for law-observance that is not equaled by the other half, that is the non-French half, of the community. "I have conducted the prosecutions for criminal offenses in this county for thirty years. In all that period less than six percent. of those tried were French Acadians," he said, "and a considerable number of these were acquitted. As regards actions in the civil courts the proportion is about the same." He paid the Acadians the further tribute of saying: "they were noted for their sobriety, temperance or intemperance was an act of free will and not governed or restrained by prohibition laws as at the present time."

Later in his speech Mr. Kyte told his audience: "French Acadians, your respect for law and reverence for, and devotion to religion, will be a bulwark and defense for the whole country against the invasion of revolutionary socialism. Look at the happy labor conditions in the Province of Quebec. There few strikes occur; there we find no antagonism between capital and labor; there Socialism has no shelter and support, save only that real Socialism which finds expression in good deeds and love and charity towards all."

Mr. Kyte, of course, knows, that "the splendid citizenship the Acadians are rendering to the State, and for which they ask no favor and seek no reward except that which comes in the fullness of time to all those who live according to the law," is founded on their devotion to religion. And where Professor Dexter has nought but blame for the clergy, the Canadian parliamentarian says that the piety of the French Acadians is fed and their faith strengthened by the inspiring example of their clergy. "These by precept as well as by the faithful practice of their priestly duties," Mr. Kyte asserts, "lead them each day nearer and nearer the goal of perfect Christians."

While Professor Dexter is attempting to create and foster prejudice towards the French Canadians, it seems that in Canada the virtues of the French, whether considered from a purely religious point of view or from a viewpoint of citizenship in the municipal or civic sense alone, are surely, though in some places slowly, making their inevitable impression on the intelligence of the Canadian people. Perhaps Professor Dexter will, bye and bye, learn what the English speaking citizens of Canada are beginning to realize.

The compiler of this note recently contributed to *America* an article under the title: "Canada's Sanest Province" which the professor might read with profit.

Royal Visitors to Rome.— Until quite recently it was impossible for a visitor to Rome to be received during the same visit at the Quirinal and at the Vatican. One of the last acts of Benedict XV was to decide that for the future this restriction should be removed. During the year 1923 three sovereigns, two of them Catholic (the King of Belgium and the King of Spain), the other being the Protestant King of England, George V.

A particular interest historically is attached to King George's visit as it was just 896 years since a reigning King of England went to Rome and was received by a Sovereign Pontiff. The Pope was John XIX and the King was Canute, the Danish ruler of Anglo-Saxon England.

Many of the Saxon kings had visited Rome. Amongst these Royal pilgrims were Caedwalla, Ina, Offa of Mercia, and Ethelwulf. Caedwalla and Ina both resigned their crowns in order to spend the last years of their lives in Rome. When Ethelwulf went to Rome in 855, during the ponificate of Benedict III., he took with him his son and heir, a boy of six years of age. The boy lived to be the greatest of the Saxon kings, one of the best and most enlightened kings that ever occupied a throne—Alfred the Great.

In Saxon times there was a constant stream of pilgrims from England to Rome, where they had a hospice specially maintained for them. After the Norman conquest there were no more Royal pilgrimages to Rome. But two of the exiled Stuarts died there, and their tombs in St. Peter's are inscribe with their titles as "Kings of England," in right of their claim to be legitimate successors of their grandfather, James II. One is the tomb of "Charles III," best known as the "Young Chevalier," Prince Charles Edward, the hero of 1745, the promise of whose early years was darkened by the miserable record of his later life.

The other tomb is that of "Henry IX," his younger brother, and the last of the Stuart line. After the failure of his elder brother's efforts to win back the crown of England, Prince Henry ("Duke of York" in the exiled Jacobite Court) studied for the priesthood, was ordained and promoted to the See of Frascati and the Cardinalate. He was a model prelate, noted above all for the care of the poor among his people. He survived until 1807. In his last years the old feud between the Houses of Stuart and Brunswick had become a thing of the past. George I. provided an annuity for the Stuart "Cardinal of York" when the French occupation of the Papal States deprived him of most of his revenues. In return the Cardinal bequeathed to the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) crown jewels he had inherited from James. When he died the Government of George III. provided the cost of the monument erected to his memory in St. Peter's, the work of Canova.

In the latter years of the pontificate of Leo XIII. an English Queen was received in audience at the Vatican. She was Queen Alexandra, who was

then making a tour in Italy. It is an interesting coincidence that the last of the Royal visitors from England to Rome in Catholic days was the Danish King of England, Canute, and the first in our own time was the Danish princess, Queen Consort of England. Her son, King George, was the first reigning King of England since the Reformation to be received as an honoured guest by the Father of Christendom.

The visit of the Spanish Sovereigns, King Alfonso and Queen Victoria, was the most brilliant function witnessed in the Vatican since the Popes became immuned there. The Pontiff was visibly touched by the voluntary act of devotion of the sovereigns, which was the outstanding feature of their first day's visit to Rome. After Alfonso had delivered an address to the Pope, he again essayed to kneel, but the Pontiff took him by the hand, lifted him to his feet and embraced him.

The Spanish sovereigns who journeyed to Italy on the Spanish dreadnought Jaime Primero, arrived from the naval base at Spezia by special train during the morning and were first received by King Victor Emmanuel and Queen Helena of Italy. Their visit to the Vatican came after a formal reception at the Quirinal.

From the royal palace they went to the Piazza di Spagna, where, at the Spanish Embassy to the Vatican, automobiles attached to the Pontifical household were waiting. Arriving at the Vatican they were met at the foot of the Scala Regia by the Papal majordomo, attired in full ceremonial robes of purple and white. Flanked by a guard of honor they were conducted with their entire entourage to the Sala Consistoriale, where Pope Pius and the members of the College of Cardinals were waiting, the Pontiff seated on his throne.

The sovereigns were escorted to the foot of the throne by Cardinals Vannutelli, Merry del Val and Bisleti, and there offered their homage to the Holy Father. The Queen, who was attired in the famous Castiglion robes of white, a prerogative held only by the Queen of Spain on a Papal visit, was then escorted to the throne designated for her.

King Alfonso in his address to the Pope thanked the Pontiff for the bestowal on Queen Victoria of the Golden Rose. He recalled the traditional Catholic faith of Spain, declared he valued the title of "Catholic Majesty" given him and his predecessors by the Popes higher than any title of his sovereignty, and concluded: "If there had been no Cross of Christ there would have been no Spain."

Upon their departure, which was conducted in the formal manner of their entrance, the sovereigns visited the Basilica of St. Peter's, knelt in prayer before the high altar and visited the tomb of St. Peter. From the Cathedral they returned to the Spanish Embassy to the Holy See, where their visit to the Pontiff, in accordance with procedure, was returned by the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri.

From the embassy they returned to the Quirinal Palace as guests of the King and Queen of Italy.

A Notable Centenary.— The town of Casena in Romagna, lately observed the centenary of the death of her most illustrious son, Pius VII. One hundred years ago on August 20, Pius VII died, after living through eight of the most stirring decades in European history. Many less notable men have had of late their memories recalled and their deeds praised in the secular press on the occasion of their centenaries. Considering the heroic part that Pius VII played in one of the greatest dramas of European history, just a short century ago, it seems strange that the press, which has a keen eye for centenaries has allowed the centenary of Pius VII, the victim and the victor of Napoleon, to pass practically unnoticed.

Bertel Thorwaldsen, the non-Catholic sculptor, has incorporated in marble in St. Peter's the figure of Pope Pius VII. the Sufferer, who was forced to drain to the very dregs the Napoleonic cup of bitterness. It is one of the most famous statues in the world. It shows the Pontiff seated on a marble chair in deep meditation, his hand gently raised in benediction, flanked by two figures, one Faith, the other Strength. He seems the very embodiment of the motto by which he lived, *Fiat voluntas tua*. For Pius drew from his faith the strength to withstand the imperialism which sought at that time to enslave the world and the Church.

The struggle between the Emperor's misplaced ambitions, and the Pope's courageous defense of the Church's rights ended in the seizure of Rome and the Pope's captivity in France. For four years Napoleon held the Pope a captive. But the conqueror of Europe lived to regret the ignoble part he played in that affair, and from his exile in St. Helena expressed the conviction that his attack on the Church was the beginning of his downfall.

The passage of arms between the great conqueror and the aged Pope is one of the most dramatic incidents in history. Gregory was supposed to have done an astounding deed in the Middle Ages when he brought Henry the German Emperor to do penance and shiver in the snow at Canossa; but Napoleon had his snow penance too, and that with an actual interposition of Providence in the infliction of it. The Protestant historian Allison thus describes it:

" 'What does the Pope mean' said Napoleon to Eugene in July 1807, 'by the threat of excommunicating me? Does he think the world has gone back a thousand years? Does he suppose the arms will fall from the hands of my soldiers?' Within two years after these remarkable words were written, the Pope did excommunicate him, in return for the confiscation of his whole dominion, and in less than four years more, the arms did fall from the hands of his soldiers, and the host apparently invincible, which he had collected, were dispersed and ruined by the blasts of winter. 'The weapons of the soldiers' says Segur in describing the Russian retreat, appeared of an insupportable weight to the stiffened arms. During their frequent falls, they fell from their hands, and destitute of the power of raising them from the ground, they were left in the snow. They did not throw them away; famine and cold tore them from their grasp.' "

And Allison adds, "There is something in these marvellous coincidences beyond the operations of chance, and which even a Protestant historian feels himself bound to mark for the observation of future ages. The world had not gone back a thousand years, but that Being existed with whom a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years."

Pius VII was able to leave his exile in 1814 and returned to Rome. But on April 11th, his anniversary, Napoleon signed his abdication at Fontainebleau, where the Pope had spent his years of exile. Then the Pope displayed a noble forgetfulness of all he had suffered at Napoleon's hands. He pleaded with the allied governments for more merciful treatment of their prisoner, and did much to soften the rigors of Napoleon's exile at St. Helena. He invited the Emperor's aged mother and relatives to a safe and honored refuge in Rome. He sent priests to St. Helena to minister to the fallen conqueror in his last illness, and helped him to die a good death. To those who spoke harshly of Napoleon he would say, "Let us speak gently of him, and forget his faults, and think only of the great things he did for the Church in France."

Archbishop John Ireland and the Spanish-American War.—The Minnesota War Records Commission has published under a legislative grant as its first volume, *Minnesota in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection*, edited by Franklin F. Holbrook, of the State Historical Society, (St. Paul: 1923, pp. 675). The long and scholarly introduction describes the causes and preliminaries of the war, summarizes the history of each of the four regiments, and sketches the activities of the relief associations at home. Then there follows the roster of 8500 Minnesotans in the volunteer regiments and the various branches of the national service.

The diocesan historian would do well to go through the list and note the Catholics who took part. This could be done quite accurately with a little effort and much correspondence, and should be done now before it is too late if our records are to be kept. Naturally, Mr. Holbrook gives no clew to the religious affiliations of the officers or men, but judging from names the percentage of Catholic volunteers was large. And throughout the country it was the Catholic volunteer which gave the lie to the chief A. P. A. charge of the nineties. Again the lists include, as one might expect in Minnesota, an especially high rate of foreign-born citizens, but it must be remembered there was no draft in '98. The Catholic local historian might supplement the list of nuns who served in the hospitals. Furthermore, he might give in greater detail by a closer investigation, than Mr. Holbrook had opportunity for, the story of Archbishop Ireland's diplomatic mission in the interests of peace.

Apparently there is little material available, Mr. Holbrook basing his narrative on the *Minneapolis Journal*, *St. Paul Pioneer Press* and the *Northwestern Chronicle* (Catholic) which prints (May 6, 1896) a sermon of the Archbishop's outlining the general object and spirit of his mission.

A brief reference is found in volumes by Latané and Chadwick covering the general period. It is a subject of importance and illustrative of the keen statesmanship and deep Americanism of Ireland, yet the following extract from Mr. Holbrook's volume is the longest and most authoritative statement in print, though the author suggests that his sources are too defective for a more explicit account:

> Early in April Archbishop Ireland went to Washington, unheralded, at the request of the Holy See. It appears that the Pope, desirous of helping to avert war, sought to use his good offices with both Spain and the United States for the arbitration of the differences. Already in touch with Madrid, he stood in neeed of a representative at Washington who could convey his suggestions acceptably to the United States government, and also inform him as to the precise attitude and intention of America—presumably, as developed later, for his guidance in exerting his great influence with Spain. For this delicate mission he chose Archbishop Ireland because of the Minnesota prelate's American citizenship, undoubted loyalty to his country, and friendly personal relations with the President and members of the Cabinet. Nor was there lacking in the one thus singled out, the energy, tact, and moral courage requisite for the able discharge of such a duty at such a time.
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> The Archbishop was courteously received in Washington, despite an outcry presently raised in the country at large against this so-called papal interference. At first his efforts seemed likely to succeed, for he reported to the Pope that President McKinley desired peace and would probably accept the Pope's offer of mediation. Meanwhile, the connections which the Archbishop established enabled the Pope to serve at least as a medium for indirect exchanges between the nations at variance, whereby, it was hoped, there might be effected what now seemed unlikely of accomplishment through the ordinary channels of diplomacy. But, as we have seen, neither the President nor the Pope could prevail against a nation-wide enthusiasm for war, coupled with a diplomacy on the part of Spain so evasive and temporizing as to leave the advocates of peace with nothing trustworthy to promise from it. On April 11, the day on which the President's message went to Congress, Archbishop Ireland journeyed to Baltimore to confer with Cardinal Gibbons. The prelates were convinced that further attempts to avert war would be useless and the Pope was advised to that effect. Nevertheless the Archbishop returned to Washington and continued his efforts until the warlike intentions of Congress found unmistakable expression. On the fifteenth he left for New York, his mission apparently concluded. He is said to have remarked

at this time-voicing sentiments entirely in keeping with record of patriotic service before and since. "I have laboured for peace, but if the will of the nation is for war, I pray that victory alight on the banners of my country." (Pp. 3-4).

Crypt of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception.—Great progress has been made during the last few months on the construction of the Crypt of the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception.

The massive collar or belt, ten feet deep, of pink Milford granite that encircles the Crypt is in place. The two broad imposing rear entrances are finished, and the exterior now exhibits an unsurpassed specimen of architectural granite work.

When the granite encasement is carried around the vast edifice, there will probably be nothing in the world of its kind to compare with this contribution of Massachusetts to the beauty and solidity of the great shrine.

The Crypt is a veritable church two hundred feet in length, and in the transept one hundred and sixty feet wide, with a seating capacity of eighteen hundred.

Its fifteen chapels are now ready to receive their marble altars. The entire scheme of the altars is so constructed as to honor Our Most Blessed Mother in the most natural and pleasing manner. They correspond to the fifteen chapels of the upper church dedicated to the mysteries of the rosary.

The beautiful high altar of the crypt is the contribution of multitude of Marys in honor of Our Blessed Mother.

Sixty-two marble columns form the chief ornament of the crypt, so disposed as to leave the central spaces quite free. These splendid monoliths are arriving daily and attract much attention from all lovers of the marble art. They have been gathered from all parts of the world—from Italy, Greece, Germany, the United States, South America, Mexico, Northern Africa, Poland and elsewhere. They offer an array of marble columns, probably unsurpassed in any country.

The three apses around which they are placed present the effect of a noble hemi-cycle, flooded by soft lights from the fifteen decorated lunettes that illuminate the crypt. Two costly columns of Irish Rose, delicately veined, are the gems of the collection; there are also two columns of beautiful green Connemara marble. Among the choicest columns are a lovely sea-green from the Greek island of Tinos, and a blue-black Labrador column with light glints that shine like imprisoned diamonds—the only one of its kind ever turned.

The rich Guastavino ceiling of light buffs and grays that rests upon the columns will soon be in place. Its delicate faience ornament will relieve the monotones of these widespreading vaults in a pleasing way.

The walls of the crypt to the height of ten feet are lined with Saint Genevieve marble that harmonizes beautifully with the columns and the

ceiling. The rich ornamentation of the fifteen chapels blends perfectly with all the other elements of decoration.

The roof of the crypt is in place. This will permit the execution, during the winter, of a large portion of the interior finish.

Mary Ward's Cause.— The many friends of Mary Ward and of her Institute scattered throughout the world are rejoicing in the progress which has been made within the past two years on the Cause of her canonization. The Cause has been warmly seconded by Cardinal Gasquet, and by the Protector of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Cardinal Mery del Val, who has shown the greatest interest in its progress. One significant change has been suggested as a preliminary to the introduction of the Cause: the unification of the various Mother-houses (General)—those of Munich-Nymphenberg (Bavaria, Roumania, India, England, and Italy); those of St. Pölten (Austria, Hungary, Tyrol and Checo-Slovakia); those of Mainz; of Rathfarnham (Ireland, England, India, Mauritius, Australia, Spain and Africa); and those of Toronto, among which are those of the United States (Chicago and Niagara Falls). To prove Mary Ward's *Fama di Santitá*, it will be necessary to collect all the available material on her life and work, and all oral traditions which are extant. Monsignor Redmond, Vice-Rector of the English Colege, Rome, is provisory postulator of the Cause. Mary Ward was reinstated as Foundress of the Institute over the world in 1909. She was a reformer in the best and holiest sense of the word, and it is to be expected that, as her Cause proceeds, the wondrous faith and devotion she displayed under almost unbelievable conditions will be brought more fully to light. Recently, Helene Reische of Munich, has published a charming account of Mary Ward—*Maria Ward, die Stifterin der Englischen Fraülein* (Munich, 1922). The work deserves translation and a large reading public.

Dominican University in the Philippines.—The University of Santo Tomas in Manila was founded in 1611.

In its more than three centuries of existence, Santo Tomas has educated nearly every important statesman in the Philippines. Through this institution passed José Rizal, the noted Philippine patriot; the martyred priests, Gomez, Burgos and Samora; Mabini and Del Pilar of revolutionary fame, and also the late Cayetano Arellano, the first Flipino Chief Juestice of the Philippine Supreme Court.

Among the prominent Filipinos still living who studied in Santo Tomas University are Manual L. Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate; Sergio Osmena, for many years Speaker of the Philippine House of Representatives; Resident Commissioners Jaime C. de Veyra and Isauro Gabaldon; Philippine Supreme Court Justices Araullo, Mapa, Torres and Romauldez. The list includes a long line of Philippine legislators and Government officials, as well as most of the present day leaders in Philippine commerce and industry.

This ancient University in Manila still thrives and according to the latest available statistics there are 620 students enrolled. There is a faculty of some 70—with a Theological Department, Canon Law, Civil Law, Medicine—25 professors—Pharmacy and Civil Engineering. Evidently the old university after 312 years of existence is in a prosperous condition. The university is in charge of the religious of St. Dominic. There are also in Manila other successful institutions of education, one in the care of the Jesuits with a total enrollment of nearly 900 The Benedictines also have a college with about 500 students, the Christian Brothers another with some 400 students.

The Episcopal Signature.— The Right Rev. Dr. Burton, Bishop of Clifton, has an interesting article under this caption in a recent issue of the London *Tablet* which, through the courtesy of the learned English Catholic weekly, we reproduce *in extenso*:

> In primitive times and in the earlier Middle Ages there could be no question of Bishops using surnames, as surnames did not come into use until about the latter half of the eleventh century.
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> Before that time a Bishop subscribed with his Christian name and generally the name of his see. Anglo-Saxon Bishops often subscribed simply, ✠ *A. Episcopus*, without any mention of a see. In the East Bishops usually wrote their Christian name with the name of their see in the genitive (*"Basilius, metropolita Chalcedonis"*; IV Council of Constantinople, A. D. 870). In the West, from a very early date, there was the custom of putting the see not substantively as above, but adjectively (*"Justus, Dei miseratione S^tae^ Salmanticenis ecclesiae episcopus,"* A. D. 666). This adjectival form seems to have prevailed almost universally in the West. Later on, the word *ecclesiae* was often dropped (*"Blastus, Archiepiscopus Toletanus,"* A. D. 1358; *"Simon, permissione divina Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis,"* A. D. 1362).
>
> Here in England the adjectival form was used as elsewhere, and in the King's writs the Bishops are mentioned by their Christian names coupled with the names of their respective sees (*"A. Cantuariensis, B. Dunelmensis, C. Eliensis,"* &c.). It seems also to have been the stylus of the Roman Court. Thus John Catterick, Bishop of Lichfield, when at the Roman Court in the fifteenth century, sends a letter to King Henry V describing his audience with Pope Martin V, in the course of which the Pope familiarly addressed him as *Lichfeldenis* (Rymer, IX, 680).
>
> When the use of surnames or nick-names, or patronymics, had come into vogue and was firmly established, the Bishops invariably continued to use the Christian name only, and it would be hard to find an instance in which a Bishop of a see subscribed with his family name or surname before the Reformation.
>
> It often happened that a Bishop signed when he had been de-

prived of his temporalities, or had not yet received these or his summons to Parliament, yet his signature and style are always the same, his Christian name only and the name of his see. Bishops *in partibus*, who acted as Bishops auxiliary, and had neither temporalities nor a seat in Parliament, followed the same rule (*"Joannes Aviensis,"* 1512; *"Joannes Tinensis,"* 1459).

There is a common saying that Bishops who lose their surnames on becoming Bishops recover them on becoming Cardinals. This does not seem to apply to ancient practice. Formerly a Cardnal signed with his Christian name only, followed by the title of his see, or of his Roman church (*"Anastasius Cardinalis presbyter tituli S. Clementis,"* A. D. 1116). In the Middle Ages a Cardinal was usually styled by his titular church (the Cardinal of *St. George*, of the *Santi Quattro*, of *St. Peter ad Vincula*); and it was not until shortly before the Reformation, when hats were more frequently bestowed upon prelates *in orbe*, that Cardinals' surnames began to be used, though by no means universally. Examples of both the older and the newer usage recur constantly in Burchard, and may be seen in the signatures appended to Leo X's Bull, conferring on Henry VIII his title of Defender of the Faith. There Campeggio signs *"L. tit. S. Anastasiae presbiter Cardinalis Campegius"* (he was not as yet Bishop of Salisbury). His assessor in Henry's divorce suit signed his letter *"T. Cardinalis Ebor."* Pole writes to Cranmer as "Reginald Pole, Cardinal Legate," and officially styles himself *"Reginaldus, S^tae Mariae, miseratione divina, in Cosmedin S^tae Romanae Ecclesiae diaconus Cardinalis Polus nuncpatus"*; or after his accession to the see of Canterbury, *"Reginaldus, miseratione divina, S^tae Mariae in Cosmedin S^tae Romanae Ecclesiae presbyter Cardinalis, Polus nuncupatus, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus."* St. Charles, though Archbishop of Milan at the time, signed himself at the conclusion of the Council of Trent, *"Carolus, Cardinalis Borromaeus"*; St. Pius V signed *"F. M. G. Cardinalis Alexandrinus,"* though Bishop of Mondovi.

One can see that there would be a reason for a Bishop dropping his surname that would not hold good for a Cardinal, *qua* Cardinal. A Cardinal is the "beloved son" of the Pontiff, and is mainly considered in that relation, as his chief capacity. There is no case of espousals in such a relation. In the case of a Bishop he is espoused to his see, and loses his surname in his see's paramount dignity. The local see or Bishop is not espoused to the Holy See, his own see being a see in the strictest sense, while the Cardinal's relation to the Holy See is one of personal sonship.

The historical fact that the Bishops of Catholic Christendom retained the ancient practice of signing only their Christian names, whilst others of lower rank began in the later Middle Ages, and in modern times, to use generally the surname as well, has, without

doubt, its rationale in the deep sense and appreciation of dignity of office or institution, which was especially characteristic of the Middle Ages, or rather of the Catholic Church, as most fully expressed in those ages. On the other hand, the sense of importance of the *individual* smacks largely of Reformation times. To the medieval mind the dignity of the office or see, "the shadow of God," was everything, and the individuality of the incumbent was looked upon as submerged in it. At least his individuality and personal origin were not matters that concerned the public, and so were kept in the background. Even if he belonged to the most illustrious family in Europe, it was his see that conferred honour upon him, not he upon his see. Hence in the style of his see his personal origin or surname was to be forgotten, and its mention would have grated on the mind as a discord, or much as the sight of a trade mark grates on the eyes of an artist, when he gazes on some noble and beautiful statue. Hence it became a point of courtesy to keep the surname out of view. Cranmer (*"fas est et ab hoste doceri"*), in replying to Gardiner, incidentally alludes to the existing practice, and reminds him that no one thinks of Thomas Cranmer, or of Stephen Gardiner, and that they are known to the English people only as "the Bishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester." Such is the illustration employed by him drawn from a change which covered but did not substantially destroy personality, in order that he might argue for a like change in the Eucharist. Evidence would thus seem to show how it was the Catholic sense of the all-submerging dignity of the see and of the Bishop espoused to it that led to the suppression of his own family name and to the adoption of a surname given him by his see. Only when a Bishop was dead did his family name revert to him, in order that he might be distinguished from subsequent occupants of his see.

It would seem, too, that the exceptions to this rule are modern, and confined to a small section of the Catholic world, viz., to Ireland, and to the Colonies and America, where missionaries from Ireland have long worked with such great success. In the days of persecution the Bishops of Ireland would naturally wish to distinguish themselves from the Anglican intruders who held the same sees, and this they could readily do by singing their own surnames. It may be, too, that Ireland, never having formed part of the Roman Empire, nor come within the sphere of its imperial ethos, attached less value to titles which seemed purely honorific. The Americans have no past, no age-long traditions, and cannot be expected to possess the historic sense of reverence bequeathed to us by European Christendom.

Apropos of this traditional sense of dignity, one may note that the stylus of a Bishop, which puts the see in the *adjectival* form, and has obtained in the West, is one which harmonizes best with

the teaching of the Church on the nature of the episcopal office. It conveys that the Bishop is so really the *Persona* of his see, that it adheres to him as a quality to its subject, or form to matter. It serves, therefore, in its way to emphasize the teaching of the Vatican Council and of Leo XIII, as to the reality of the jurisdiction of Bishops as *Ordinaries*, in contradistinction to that of *Apostolical Vicars*, or *Delegates*, by whom the Catholics of England and Scotland were governed prior to 1850, whilst Ireland retained her old hierarchy. This is a point which we have at times to vindicate against the misconceptions of Anglicans, some of whom regard our Bishops as mere Papal Lieutenants. Unfortunately the genitive form of appellation has to be used in English, *e. g.*, "of Plymouth"; but *Plymuthensis* still represents the ancient practice, as do still in the Anglican communion *Cantuarien.*, *Eboracen.*, *Dunelmen.*, *Bathonien.*, &c., even when still further abbreviated. They are adjectives, not nouns; not so, *Birmingham*, *Manchester*, *Stepney*, *Kensington*, &c.

Revival of Interest in Early Irish Manuscripts.—The Dublin correspondent of the N. C. W. C. *News Service* says:

There has been a revival of interest in ancient Irish manuscripts. Many eminent scholars are devoting attention to those works. Among the latest who have given the public the benefit of their researches is the Rev. H. J. Lawlor, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Trinity College, Dublin. Tracing the beginnings of Christian learning and art in Ireland, he dealt in a public lecture with the version of the Sacred Scriptures made by St. Jerome, the greatest scholar in the West. It dated from the year 400. St. Jerome translated the Bible from the originals in Greek and Hebrew into Latin.

The work took about 400 years to spread all over Western Europe as it had to be copied by hand. One such manuscript at least was in Ireland in the sixth century. St. Columba borrowed it from St. Finian of Dromin and copied it. St. Finian demanded back not only the book but the copy St. Columba had made and the King of Tara decided the ownership with the sentence:

"To every cow belongs its calf, so to every book belongs its copy."

But St. Columba did not accept this decision and went to Scotland in 563. The Cathach was left in the care of the O'Donnells. Centures later it was placed in a beautiful Shrine and in time it was forgotten what the Shrine contained. In the last century it came into the hands of Sir William Betham who opened it and found in the casket the Bible, which is now in the Royal Irish Academy. It was a pure Vulgate with not a bit of old Latin in it.

St. Finian was probably the first person to bring it to Ireland and St. Columba the first to make a copy of it here. The Book of Durrow, containing the Four Gospels, was beautifully illuminated about the year 700 from an original text by St. Columba.

In connection with Dr. Lawlor's lecture it may be mentioned that the Royal Irish Academy has devoted special attention to the promotion of the scientific study of the Irish language and literature and has gradually formed a library of Irish manuscripts which surpasses in number and importance all the other like collections put together.

In an address presented by the members of the Academy to Mr. T. M. Healy, Governor-General of the Free State, the members said:

> The organization of research in these varied fields is of serious consequence to the future of the country and we hope to continue our labors in the national service in the days to come. At an early period the Academy took the important step of forming a museum for the preservation of national antiquities, which has been steadily growing and the collection to-day is admittedly one of the most important in Europe.
>
> Its great wealth in pre-historic antiquities of gold and bronze and in antiquities of the Christian period surpasses that of nearly all other national museums.
>
> Replying to the address the Governor-General said that the achievements of the Academy in Science, Art and Letters were a glory to the country and that the materials concerning every Irish county, gathered and preserved by the Academy, deserved to be put in print as soon as possible.

The Lingard Society.—A communication received some days ago from J. J. Dwyer, Esq., informs us that the name of the Catholic Historical Society of England hitherto known as "St. Thomas's Historical Society" is to be known as "The Lingard Society." Mr. Dwyer says: You will observe that we have changed our name, and taken that of the great English Catholic historian. The old name had no particular point for us and led to confusion with an Anglican Society who were indeed prior to us in adopting that title."

We append the programme of the Lingard Society for the Session 1923-24.

Oct. 8. "The Council of Merton" ..... By F. W. Sherwood
Nov. 12. "Two St. Bartholomew Myths".... By Maurice Wilkinson, M.A.
Dec. 10. "The Civil Constitution of the Clergy in the French Revolution" By J. J. Dwyer
Jan. 14. "The Conversion of the Norsemen"..... By Rev. H. Harrington
Feb. 11. "Some Eighteenth Century English Catholics".. By R. C. Wilton
Mar. 10. "The History of Elizabeth in our Schools" By Rev. J. H.Pollen, S.J.

Apr. 14. "The Lateran Canons and Ireland"
By Abbot Smith, D.D., C.R.L.

May 12. "Archbishop Ullathorne".....By Abbot Butler, Litt.D., O.S.B.

Meetings are held at 6.30 p. m. at 22, Russell Square, W. C., in the lecture room of the Royal Historical Society, by kind permission of the President and Council.

Hon. Secretary: J. J. Dwyer, 88 Kingscourt Rd., S. W. 16.

Hon. Treasurer: A. W. Ayling, 4 Gordon Rd., Wanstead, E. 11.

Hon. Asst. Secretary: Miss A. F. Wedd, 21 Hereford Rd., W. 2.

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